THE TOMB OF PAHERI

AT EL KAB

BY

J. J. TYLOR, F.S.A., Assoc.M.Inst.C.E.,

AND

F. Ll. GRIFFITH, B.A., F.S.A.

FROM THE ELEVENTH MEMOIR OF

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND.

LONDON

1894

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PREFACE.

THE Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, taking advantage of the liberal offer of Mr. J. J. Tylor to place at their disposal a selection of his drawings from the tombs of El Kab, decided to provide the subscribers with a complete delineation of that of Paheri, one of the most representative examples existing of its period (the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty). Notwithstanding that numerous details from the tomb have already appeared in the great works on Egyptian monuments, there has never been any approach to a complete publication of the scenes and inscriptions.

Mr. Tylor's materials lent to the Society for this purpose were—

(1) An admirable collection of photographs, the negatives of which were taken for him by Mr. Harold Roller in 1892. They are as follows, all except the first four being to the scale of one-sixth actual size:—

View of the interior of the tomb, from the entrance.
Two views of the façade, and one of the side wall, scale 1 : 16.
Two photographs of the fragment that remains of the front wall.
A series of fourteen photographs of the left side of the main chamber.
A similar series of the right side.
A series of seven, of the inscriptions on the back wall.

(2) Tracings of the scenes on the sides of the niche, which could not be photographed.

(3) Annotated copies of the above photographs.

(4) Drawings based on enlargements (to nearly double the scale) of most of the photographs of the scenes. These enlargements were made in order to serve as a basis for Mr. Tylor's own *édition de luxe*.

The plates in the present volume were prepared as follows:—

Pls. vi., vii., and the inscription on the back wall in pl. ix., were first traced from the original photographs by a draughtsman, and then carefully corrected and completed. The drawing of the statues on pl. ix. is derived from that in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*.

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Pls. i.-v. and viii. were traced from the enlarged drawings: this method was calculated to give more satisfactory results, owing to the abundance of detail in the scenes. The services of Mr. Anderson, a skilful draughtsman, especially practised in the delineation of classical subjects, were engaged for this work.

Pl. x. is from a drawing founded upon Mr. Tylor's tracing. It has been compared with the copies published in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, but does not pretend to absolute accuracy of detail.

All the above have been subjected to careful revision, by close examination of the photographs and comparison of numerous published and unpublished copies. The method adopted has been to draw the reliefs in outline, and to fill in the incised work in full black. Restorations have been inserted only so far as they are authorized by the direct evidence of the earlier copies; and in all cases the outlines of the more recent fractures have been clearly marked within the restorations, so as to indicate their extent at the time that the photographs were taken.

No plans of the tomb could be found, excepting a very small and inaccurate one published in the *Description de l'Egypte*. Fortunately, Mr. Somers Clarke, F.S.A., who was in Egypt with Mr. Tylor in 1892, had taken some measurements, which he was good enough to communicate to the authors, together with some remarks upon the architecture. From these, with the help of the photographs, a useful sketch has been possible, and is shown upon pl. i.

The present memoir does not represent the final outcome of Mr. Tylor's work upon the tomb of Paheri. He is now engaged upon a limited *édition de luxe*, in which the scenes will be reproduced to a larger scale by a collotype process. His drawings for this work are based upon the photographs, and are intended to render the effect of the reliefs in a more natural way than has ever before been attempted.

In conclusion, the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund desire to express their extreme obligation to Mr. Tylor for the generous manner in which he has placed his materials at their disposal and for the share which he has taken in the preparation of this memoir.

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THE

TOMB OF PAHERI AT EL KAB.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE TOMB OF PAHERI.

The ruins of the ancient city of Nekheb, now El Kab, lie on the edge of the Eastern desert, and form a square of about half a mile in each direction, clearly defined by an immense fortified enclosure of crude brick. It was an important city, worthy of its position as capital of the IIIrd nome of Upper Egypt. At some distance to the north-east of the enclosure is a rocky mass of sandstone honeycombed with tombs, and separated from the cliffs behind it by a narrow gulley: this was the main necropolis of the place, and on its southern slope are some interesting tombs, chiefly of the period of the New Kingdom. The first and the most striking of these is the tunnel-like sepulchre of Paheri, dating from the middle of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

The dimensions of this tomb, however, are but moderate, the main chamber being only 25-26 feet long and 11½ feet broad. The original excavation comprised[1] a levelled platform before the entrance, in which the mummy pit was sunk; a sculptured façade; an oblong main chamber with arched roof, decorated throughout with sculpture and painting; and finally, a niche or shrine at the inner end of the last, containing three statues.

At a later period a neat doorway was cut through the sculptures of the East wall, and two rough-hewn chambers, with a mummy pit, were added. The floor of the main chamber appears also to have been quarried away to some depth, leaving irregular masses in the corners; while the façade in its ruinous condition now affords a wide entrance, which lights up the whole of the interior.

The façade of the tomb[2] was cut back in the slope of the hill, leaving a level platform with an almost vertical face of rock on either flank: on the left this rock-face was insignificant, and was perhaps dressed away to free the approach from that quarter, but on the right the wall was broad and high, and displays a figure of Paheri, carved in *cavo relievo*, kneeling and looking outward, while he pronounces an adoration to the local goddess Nekhebt—a solar deity, and mistress of the South. The façade itself is about 14 feet wide, with the slight "batter" or slope from base to summit that was usual during the New Kingdom. The doorway in the centre of it is now entirely destroyed; it was flanked by columnar inscriptions in large hieroglyphs, with prayers for the *ka* (ghost) of Paheri, and above it were scenes of adoration.

[1] See Plans, &c., on pl. i.

[2] See pl. i.

Inside, the main chamber is of very simple form, tunnel-like, with straight sides and arched ceiling; its dimensions are nearly 26 feet in length, 12 in breadth, and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in height down the middle; the side walls are adorned with scenes in coloured sculpture, representing on the East wall[1] banquets and worship of the gods, indoors, and on the West wall[2]—first, the out-of-door occupations of Paheri and his serfs, such as harvesting, fishing, loading ships and the like, and at the inner end the funerary rites of the time. The roof being arched, the front and back walls are rounded at the top; the former[3] shows on the right of the doorway a large figure of Paheri with staff in hand, as if about to walk out of the chamber, and in the arched portion above the level of the door a ship, the whole being surmounted by remains of an emblematic representation; but the central part over the door and the whole of the left side is destroyed. The back wall,[4] in which the niche is cut, may be compared to an enormous round-topped tablet or stela, and is almost entirely covered by a very long incised inscription in small hieroglyphs; the upper part of the curved portion is injured, but showed, perhaps, a repetition of the design at the other end, consisting of the two jackals of the North and South facing each other, and other emblems such as are commonly represented on stelæ of this age.

All of these scenes and inscriptions are raised about 18 inches above the ancient floor (which is now much quarried away), and are bordered below by bands of colour. On each of the side walls above the scenes is a line of large hieroglyphs running the whole length of the chamber,[5] and over this, at the rounded spring of the arched ceiling, there is a continuous cornice ornament of *khekers* , followed by another line of large hieroglyphs. Down the middle of the ceiling runs a similar line of inscription, and the whole of the roof-spaces between the central line and each of the side lines is painted in a somewhat intricate fashion, with rows of diamonds formed by zigzag lines of different colours running from end to end of the tomb.[6]

The niche or shrine is raised above the floor to the same level as the scenes; it is rectangular, $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep by $4\frac{1}{2}$ broad at the ceiling, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and is without any architectural features. It contains three life-size statues[7] of Paheri with his wife and mother, seated together upon a bench against the inner wall, and looking down the tomb to the entrance: they are cut out of the solid rock in very high relief, with their names above them on the wall: as a deceased person Paheri, in the centre, with his arms on his breast, is represented as if mummified, but, like the god Osiris, retaining the flexibility of his joints and a partial use of his limbs; on the left his wife Henut-er-neheh, and on the right his mother Kem or Kam, place respectively their left and right arms at his back, as though supporting him: the features of all these are defaced. On each of the side walls[8] is sculptured a scene of offering, and above is the *kheker* ornament. The ceiling is patterned differently from that of the main chamber, but is similarly divided down the middle by an inscribed band, perhaps representing a beam which supports a mat-work roof.[9]

The added chambers need not detain us, being of later date than the tomb of Paheri.

The execution of the tomb is probably to be dated to the beginning of the reign of Thothmes III., within a few decades of 1500 B.C. The work of it is very neat and regular, but the sandstone did not offer by

[1] Pl. vi.-viii. [2] Pl. iii.-v. [3] Pl. ii.
[4] Pl. ix. [5] Shown in pl. iii.-viii.
[6] Visible in the photograph of the tomb, but not copied.
[7] Pl. ix. [8] Pl. x. [9] Not copied.

any means so fine a surface for delicate sculpture and painting as the limestone of the necropolis of Thebes. The largest of the human figures in the tomb are of about the natural size. Inside, the figures, the hieroglyphs and the details are all sculptured in low relief, as well as painted, excepting that the small hieroglyphs attached to the figures in the scenes, and those on the back wall, are merely incised and filled with blue paint;[1] outside, the work is in *cavo relievo*, the better to resist injury.

2. PREVIOUS WORK AT THE TOMB.

This is by no means the first time that the tomb of Paheri has been copied or described. Ever since its first discovery on the 20th September, 1799, during Napoleon's expedition, the necropolis of El Kab, and especially this tomb, have attracted the curiosity of travellers and Egyptologists. Cortaz gives a lively description of the excitement which the discovery produced amongst the members of the French Commission, and even recounts with evident gratification the strategy which the Arabs employed to obtain inordinate bakshîsh from the expectant and delighted savants.[2]

While his companions made drawings of the scenes which so clearly depicted the civil life of Ancient Egypt, Cortaz was occupied in describing them. In his own words the tomb was "comme un livre que les anciens Égyptiens nous ont laissé pour nous instruire d'une grande partie des habitudes et des travaux qui composaient chez eux l'économie de la vie civile." Here for the first time were displayed the subjects of the Pharaohs as *living* persons, in that light which further discovery has made so familiar to us.

Cortaz's description is not ill done, though the decipherment of the inscriptions and the comparison of similar representations has put the task, which he undertook for the first time, on quite a different basis. The drawings by Lancret, Chabrol, Jollois, Devilliers, and Jomard might even now be of some service if other copies were not available, but they are quite as bad as most of the antiquarian drawings contained in that great pioneer work on Egypt,[3] and are only better than the wondrous sketches of monuments which diversify the pages of Norden and other travellers of the last century. Irby and Mangles, and Belzoni, who were there on August 15th, 1817, have inscribed their names between the sculptures, amongst a crowd of barbarous and ignoble signatures; but James Burton, in or about 1825, carefully copied the scenes upon the two side walls of the main chamber.[4]

In 1828 Champollion and Rosellini made a stay at El Kab. The former drew up a description of the tomb of Paheri,[5] and caused

[1] In the plates the detailed sculpture is drawn in outline, but the small incised hieroglyphs are represented in solid black.

[2] *Grottes d'Elethyia, mémoire sur plusieurs arts et sur plusieurs usages civils et religieux des anciens Egyptiens*, par M. Cortaz, Membre de l'Institut de l'Egypte (in *Description de l'Égypte*, 2me édition, Text, tome vi., pp. 97-156), and cf. Saint-Genis, *l.c.* tome i., pp. 341 ff.

[3] "On s'est attaché à copier les hiéroglyphes avec la plus parfaite exactitude"! *l.c.*, tome x., p. 72. The drawings of Paheri's tomb ("grotte principale") are published in *Antiquités*, tome i., pl. 67, 2; 68 (West wall corresponding to our Pl. iii.-iv.); 69, 1 (a funerary ceremony in our pl. v., arrival at Kher-neter), 3 (servants, our pl. vi., bottom row on left); 70, 1 (Paheri and wife with monkey, our pl. vi., on left), 2 (musicians, our pl. vii., bottom row), 3 (ship sailing, in our pl. iii.); &c.

[4] *British Museum, Additional MS.*, 25,647. The copy is excellent, but the scale ($\frac{1}{6}$) is too small to show much detail in a pencil drawing. Fo. 6-9, East side; 10-13, West side; 14 contains the end (south) of the East wall and the beginning of the West; 15, many inscriptions from both sides; 16, musicians in pl. vii. on a larger scale; 17, inscription over table of offerings on pl. vi., and the long lines of inscription below the frieze.

[5] Tomb 1, Champollion, *Notices Descriptifs*, i., 266-9 and 650-3.

many of the scenes to be copied;[1] the latter has published numerous scenes in his *Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia.*[2]

About the same time Robert Hay of Linplum made a complete copy of the scenes on a larger scale than Burton.[3]

Wilkinson did but little work at El Kab. For his *Ancient Egyptians* he took only one illustration from the tomb of Paheri.[4] His description of the antiquities is to be found in the older editions of Murray's Guide.

In 1843 came the grand expedition of Lepsius, whose draughtsmen, E. Weidenbach and Eirund, have given us masterly, though conventionalized, representations of some of the most important scenes and inscriptions.[5]

In 1891 Heinrich Brugsch published many inscriptions from the tomb in his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum.*[6] Mr. Villiers Stuart devotes a chapter of his *Nile Gleanings*[7] to the tombs of El Kab, and gives a coloured plate of the musicians on the East wall of the tomb of Paheri. Professor Petrie copied all the personal names in the tombs in 1887, and doubtless every Egyptologist has added to his note-book here. The useful notice in Baedeker's *Upper Egypt* (1890) ought also to be mentioned.

Of all the copies, the first places for scholarly treatment are of course taken by the publications of Lepsius and Brugsch; while none show the subjects with great accuracy, most of them are useful for some one point or other. It is clear that little change has taken place in the condition of the sculptured walls since the French discovered the tomb, and none at all, excepting the carving of additional names, till after Lepsius' visit. Before that time many details of the sculpture had been injured, e.g., almost all the faces had been mutilated, probably by the Copts, and cracks in the rock disfigured the scenes on each wall of the main chamber: probably these had been found by the original makers of the tomb, and they had patched them up with cement, and continued

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[1] Champollion, *Monuments*, ii., pl. cxli., 1 (winnowing and storing grain, our pl. iii., top row), 2 (ships and weighing gold, our pl. iii., bottom row); cxlii., 1 (Pa-behet offering wine to Her-ari, in our pl. vii.); cxliii., 1 (procession of coffin, in our pl. v., top row), 2 (carrying corn to threshing-floor, in our pl. iii., top row); cxliv., 1 (chariot, in our pl. iii.), 2 (stands, with jars, coloured, in our pl. iii., right-hand end of second row); cxlv., 1 (offering wine to Amensat, in our pl. vii., third row); 2 (ditto to Mey, in our pl. vii., top row), 3 (musicians, in our pl. vii., bottom row).

[2] Text, *Monumenti Civili*, i., p. 127 ff. Plates, *Mon. Civ.* xxx., 3 (swine, in our pl. iii., bottom row); xxxiii., 2—xxxiv., 1 (threshing and storing grain, our pl. iii., top row); xxxix., 1 (stands with jars, in our pl. iii., second row, on right); lxxviii., 1 (serving Her-ari, in our pl. vii., top row), 2 (serving Aahmes, in our pl. vii., second row); xcv., 7 (musicians, and serving Amensat, in our pl. vii., bottom row); cx., 1, 2 (ships, and receiving gold, in our pl. iii., lower rows); cxvi., 5 (the chariot, in our pl. iii., third row); cxxvii., 2 (procession of the coffin, in our pl. v., top row); cxxxiii., 3 (nursing Prince Uazmes, in our pl. iv., top row); cxxxv., 1 (funerary scenes, our pl. v., four lower rows).

[3] *British Museum, Additional MS.*, 29,832, fo. 107, façade; 110-121, East wall; 122-33, West wall; scale of the scenes $\frac{1}{4}$. It is a careful first sketch by the *camera lucida*, but was never revised or completed in detail, so that all remains vague. Hay seems to have previously begun a copy on too small a scale (about $\frac{1}{8}$), now in MS. 29,843, fo. 125-7 (East wall only).

[4] Third edition, by Birch, vol. ii., fig. 479 on p. 428 (flax harvest, in our pl. iii., left end of second row).

[5] Tomb I., Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii., Bl. 10, *a* (ploughing, receiving gold, ships, &c., in our pl. iii., lower half on right), a^{bis} (the chariot, in our pl. iii., third row), *b* (nursing Uazmes, in our pl. iv., middle top), *c* (threshing, in our pl. iii., top row), *e* (stripping the flax-heads, in our pl. iii., second row to left); Bl. 11, *a*, *b* (scenes on the walls of the shrine, our pl. x.), *c* (group from the family of Paheri's wife, in our pl. iv.), *d* (the vintage, in our pl. iv., top right); 13 *a* (inscription on the back wall, and statues in the shrine, our pl. ix.).

[6] Band vi., pp. 1528-1534, inscriptions accompanying the scenes of agriculture, &c., on our pl. iii.; pp. 1534-5, inscription from the banqueting scene on our pl. vii.; pp. 1536-7, part of the inscription on back wall, our pl. ix., l. 36 to end; pp. 1539-40, genealogical inscriptions from sides of niche (our pl. x.); pp. 1540-2, ditto from East wall (our pl. vii.-viii.); p. 1542, ditto from West wall, wife's family (in our pl. iv., middle); pp. 1543-4, titles of Paheri, from south end of East wall (in our pl. iii., left).

[7] Ch. xxv. and pl. xix. (our pl. vii., bottom row, middle).

the scenes over them. Instances of such a practice are frequently observable; and the decay of the cement has too often destroyed the sculpture upon it. The only important differences now perceptible in the tomb are that the old damage has been wantonly extended by chipping fragments from the sides of the fissures,[1] and three attempts have been made to cut out figures or groups.[2] For the restoration of these the numerous early copies have been of great service, so that practically nothing has been lost to this publication through the recent disfigurements.[3]

3. THE NOMARCH PAHERI.

The principal value of the tomb of Paheri to archæologists lies in the scenes with their short explanatory inscriptions; but we can gather from this tomb and from that of Paheri's ancestor, Aahmes, "son of Abana,"[4] so much concerning the family and functions of this wealthy nome-prince, that we must devote a few paragraphs to their consideration.[5]

The genealogical tables given below, nearly all of which are derived from the evidence contained in the plates of this memoir, show that there are records of no less than seven generations of Paheri's family, reaching up to his great-great-grandmother and down to his grandchildren. He was nobly descended: his maternal grandfather was the celebrated Aahmes, son of Abana, whose biographical inscription is one of the most precious historical records of the country. Aahmes fought under each successive king of the XVIIIth Dynasty down to Thothmes I., and was a witness of that splendid growth which first cast off the foreign Hyksos yoke, and, spreading rapidly, formed the foundation of a powerful Empire in the south and east.

By his wife Apu, Aahmes had a daughter named Kem or Kam, who probably, in accordance with custom, inherited the family honours in preference to her two brothers; she married the scribe[6] Atefrura, no doubt a grandee of the Theban court, holding the office of tutor or foster-father to the prince Uazmes.[7] As yet we have no other account of Atefrura than that which is given incidentally in the tombs of his father Aahmes and his son Paheri: he had a numerous family. Our Paheri himself, or perhaps his brother of the same name,[8] constructed his grandfather's tomb. In it we read: "It was his daughter's son who undertook the works in this tomb-chamber, in making the name of his mother's father to live, the scribe (artist) of designs of the god Amen, Paheri;" and again (a prayer) "for Aahmes, son of Abana, by his daughter's son, making his name to live, the scribe Paheri, deceased (?)."[9]

It is remarkable that Paheri bears none of the ordinary list of titles—*erpâ ḥâ, semer uâti*, &c.: this may indicate that he was not a courtier. There is an air of simplicity and

[1] See pl. iv., vii. and viii.

[2] See pl. iv. and v.

[3] Restorations have been inserted only so far as they are authorized by the direct evidence of the early copies; and in all these cases the outlines of the more recent fractures are clearly marked within the restorations, so as to indicate their extent at the time the photographs were taken.

[4] Tomb V., L., *D.* iii., pl. 12; Ch., *Not. Desc.* i., pp. 272 and 654-658 (p. 658 wrongly printed at the back of p. 661). Unfortunately, the sculptures in it were never finished.

[5] The mythological allusions in the inscriptions are numerous and important; it has, however, been deemed advisable to leave their explanation to specialists in this class of Egyptian literature.

[6] Ch., *Not. Desc.* i., 658.

[7] Pl. ix., l. 36, &c.

[8] In his own tomb, Paheri is always called the *ha*-prince, but he was also a "skilful scribe" (pl. ix., l. 45), and at his grandfather's decease he may have borne only the title of "scribe of designs of Amen." His *brother*, Paheri, was likewise a "skilful scribe;" the occurrence of two brothers with the same name and similar titles is embarrassing. For Paheri II., see the footnote 3 on p. 8.

[9] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. iii., Bl. 12, d and a.

straightforwardness about his titles: he was no lawyer and no courtier, but a rich and business-like countryman, a nomarch entrusted with some important functions by the king. The abbreviated titles commonly attached to Paheri's name are "the *ha*-prince and scribe," and in ordinary language, as we learn from the conversational inscriptions in the tomb, he was spoken of as *pa hâ*, "the *ha*-prince," or *pa ser*, "the noble."[1] He is frequently called *ha*-prince of Nekheb and *ha*-prince of Anyt. Nekheb (Eileithyiapolis, El Kab, on the east bank) and Anyt (Latopolis, Esneh, on the west bank) were the principal cities in the third nome of Upper Egypt, called Ten (?), and known to the classical reader as the Latopolite.[2] Probably the nome was halved, forming territories on the east and west banks attached to each of these cities, and Paheri was made prince of both, and so of the whole nome. Esneh is about twenty-two miles distant from El Kab, and their territories probably extended north and south beyond these cities. It is not certain that any of his ancestors were *ha*-princes; so far as we can tell, therefore, this honour was specially conferred by the king upon Paheri.

Such was Paheri's princedom. As a scribe, however, he was an official with influence beyond his own nome: he is called "scribe of the accounts of corn," and once, more definitely, "scribe of the accounts of corn from Ant (Tentyra, Denderah) as far as Nekheb (El Kab)[3];" he "acted and inspected in the corn-land of the south district," was "superintendent of corn-land of the south district, excellent satisfier of the desire of his master from Per-Hathor as far as Nekheb."[4] Per-Hathor, "the house of Hathor," is a rare geographical name, and might apply to several cities in which the goddess Hathor was worshipped. Fortunately, the difficulty is at once removed by the parallelism in two of the above titles, "from Ant (Tentyra) as far as Nekheb" evidently being synonymous with "Per-Hathor as far as Nekheb." Per-Hathor is therefore a name for the famous Hathor-city of Tentyra, capital of the sixth nome of Upper Egypt; so that Paheri was scribe of the corn for a very large district, including Thebes and extending 150 miles down the river to its great western bend at Denderah. The south district may be a more general designation for the same region.

Paheri's father had been "the tutor or foster-father of the king's son Uazmes," and Paheri is figured once with the same title;[5] but since the scene represents the prince as a nude baby, while the children and even the grandchildren of Paheri are present, the prince Uazmes in this scene can hardly be the same as the prince Uazmes who, accompanied by his brother Amenmes, is seated opposite Atefrura and Kema in the sculptures of the shrine.[6] A son of Thothmes I. was named Amenmes, and in the fourth year of the king was heir apparent to the throne;[7] since Thothmes I. was the last king served by Atefrura's father, there can be little doubt that the first Uazmes in Paheri's tomb, with his brother Amenmes, was a son of Thothmes I.: both of these princes seem to have died young, the succession falling to Thothmes II. Unless the scene referred to at the beginning of this paragraph be a jumble of events not contemporaneous, there still remains to be identified a second prince Uazmes, who was taken in hand by Paheri himself, about the beginning

[1] In Pl. iii. and vi.

[2] In the temple-lists the capital of the nome is Nekheb, but in the accounts of the Roman geographers it is Latopolis.

[3] Pl. ix., l. 10.
Pl. iii., lower left-hand corner.

[5] Pl. iv., middle top.

[6] Pl. x., East wall.

[7] *Recueil de travaux*, vii., p. 142.

of the reign of Thothmes III.; such is the date to which the genealogies lead us to assign the old age of Paheri.

Paheri bore also a sacerdotal title: like most *ha*-princes, he was chief priest of the deity in his capital, and is therefore called "superintendent of the priests of Nekhebt" in one passage, or simply "superintendent of priests." Nekhebt, the goddess of Nekheb, is evidently named after the city: she was a solar deity, mistress of the south, figured as a vulture, often wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt, and was considered to be a form of Hathor. Her divine titles are mentioned several times in the inscriptions.

4. GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE FAMILY OF PAHERI.

Twenty years ago Prof. Lieblein[1] for the first time tabulated the genealogy of Paheri (partly from the copies of Prof. Eisenlohr), but the materials are now much more complete.

In the following tables there is very little that is at all doubtful; it is, however, conceivable that some of those who are called "brothers" and "sisters" of Paheri in the texts may be *half*-brothers and sisters, i.e. issue not of the marriage of Atefrura and Kema, as given in the table, but of some other union of his father or of his mother; and it is believed that sometimes honorary or adoptive titles of relationship were given in Ancient Egypt to companions and friends. These reservations, indeed, will not seriously affect the value of the genealogy.

As elsewhere, the great importance attached to the maternal side of the descent is evident. Amongst the ancestors, the great Aahmes is surnamed "son of Abana" (his mother), Baba likewise "son of Reant" (his mother), and Paheri's maternal ancestors and cousins are fully represented in the scenes, while the paternal side is almost entirely neglected.[2]

I. Genealogy of Aahmes, son of Abana: from his tomb.

..... = *Re-ant[3]

"Baba, son of Re-ant" = *Abana
military officer under Seqenen-ra
(XVIIth Dynasty)

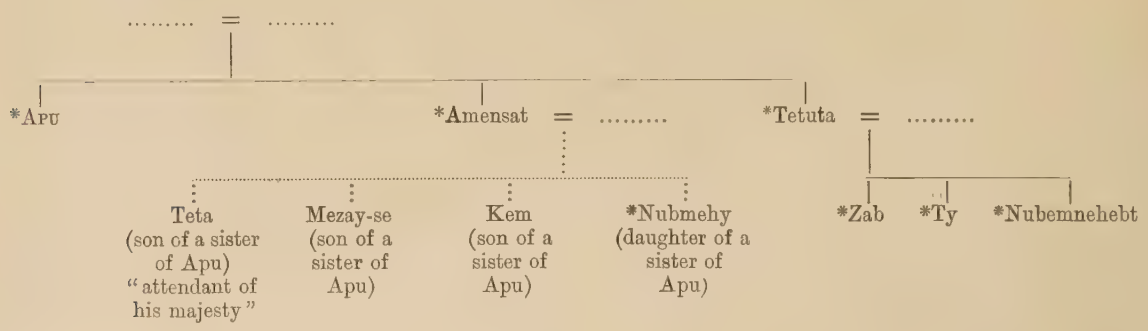
"Aahmes, son of Abana" = *Apu
military and naval officer under
Aahmes I., Amenhotep I., Thothmes I.;
died as "chief of sailors."

[1] *Dictionnaire des noms propres hiéroglyphiques*, No. 558.

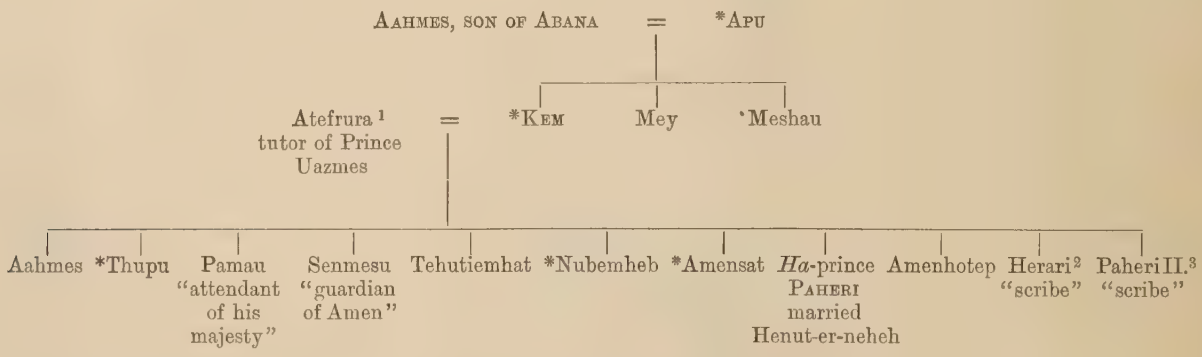
[2] Cf. Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, p. 9, § 11.

[3] In these tables the asterisk (*) before a name denotes a female.

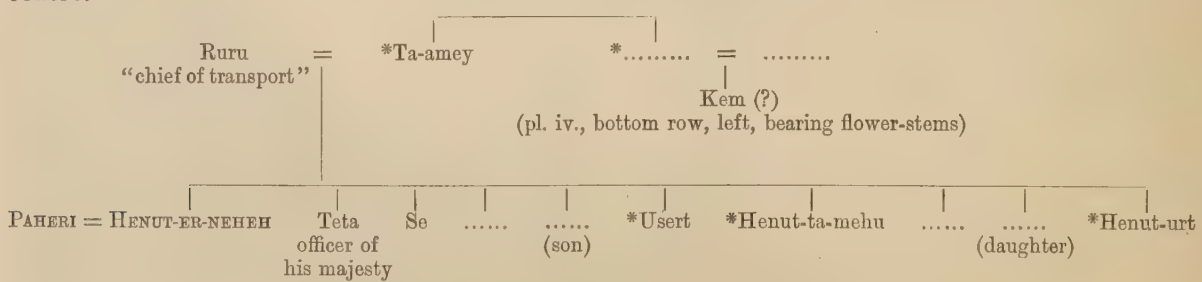
II. Sisters of Apu, wife of Aahmes, son of Abana, with their children; from the East wall of the tomb of Paheri, pl. vii.


..... = ...
*Apu
*Amensat = ...
*Tetuta = ...
Teta (son of a sister of Apu) "attendant of his majesty"
Mezay-se (son of a sister of Apu)
Kem (son of a sister of Apu)
*Nubmehy (daughter of a sister of Apu)
*Zab
*Ty
*Nubemnehebt

III. Children and grandchildren of Aahmes, son of Abana; from the East wall of the tomb of Paheri, pl. vii., and the east side of the shrine, pl. x.


Aahmes, son of Abana = *Apu
Atefrura[1] tutor of Prince Uazmes = *Kem Mey 'Meshau
Aahmes *Thupu Pamau "attendant of his majesty" Senmesu "guardian of Amen" Tehutiemhat *Nubemheb *Amensat Ha-prince Paheri married Henut-er-neheh Amenhotep Herari[2] "scribe" Paheri II.[3] "scribe"

IV. Family of Henut-er-neheh, wife of Paheri; from the West wall of his tomb, pl. iv., centre.

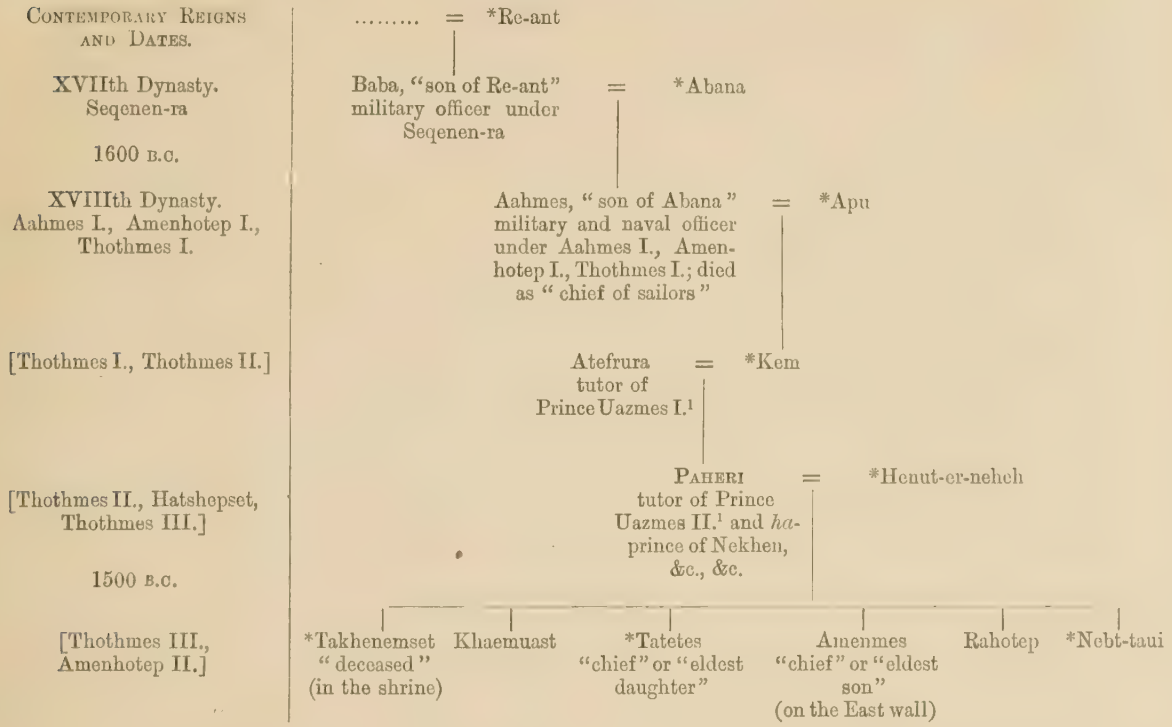

Ruru = *Ta-amey *..... = ...
"chief of transport"
Kem (?)
(pl. iv., bottom row, left, bearing flower-stems)
Paheri = Henut-er-neheh Teta officer of his majesty Se .... (son) *Usert *Henut-ta-mehu .... (daughter) *Henut-urt

[1] Called "tutor of the king's son of his body, and scribe, Atefrura" by his son Herari, in the tomb of Aahmes, son of Abana, Ch., *Not. Desc.*, i., 658.

[2] Herari does not occur in the shrine, but is the first of Paheri's brothers on the East wall (pl. 7, top row). Like Paheri, he appears conspicuously in the tomb of Aahmes son of Abana, dedicating a scene to his father Atefrura, and his mother ..... (?); his wife Amensat is with them, and he himself is called "their son who makes their name to live, the designer of the god Amen Herari," Ch., *Not. Desc.*, *l.c.*

[3] This Paheri is nowhere figured amongst the family of Atefrura and Kema, but is acting as scribe in pl. iii. and v., and is called "his beloved brother of the place of his heart, excellent scribe of accounts, Paheri." Probably he was an adoptive brother in reality.

V. Children of Paheri; from the west side of the shrine, pl. x., and the East wall of his tomb, pl. vii., viii.; with his lineal ancestors, paternal or maternal.


Contemporary Reigns and Dates.
..... = *Re-ant
XVIIth Dynasty. Seqenen-ra
Baba, "son of Re-ant" military officer under Seqenen-ra
= *Abana
1600 B.C.
XVIIIth Dynasty. Aahmes I., Amenhotep I., Thothmes I.
Aahmes, "son of Abana" military and naval officer under Aahmes I., Amenhotep I., Thothmes I.; died as "chief of sailors"
= *Apu
[Thothmes I., Thothmes II.]
Atefrura tutor of Prince Uazmes I.[1]
= *Kem
[Thothmes II., Hatshepset, Thothmes III.]
Paheri tutor of Prince Uazmes II.[1] and ha-prince of Nekhen, &c., &c.
= *Henut-er-neheh
1500 B.C.
[Thothmes III., Amenhotep II.]
*Takhenemset "deceased" (in the shrine)
Khaemuast
*Tatetes "chief" or "eldest daughter"
Amenmes "chief" or "eldest son" (on the East wall)
Rahotep
*Nebt-taui

Grandchildren of Paheri are referred to in the tomb, and one is figured in pl. iv., top row, centre; but their names are not recorded.

[1] For Uazmes I. and II., see above, p. 6.

II. EXPLANATION OF THE SCENES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

PERHAPS the most instructive programme for the tour of the tomb would be, on entering it, first to visit the shrine with its statues,[1] and there make acquaintance with some of the family and ancestors of the nomarch;[2] next to inspect the festive gathering of his kin, upon the East wall;[3] then, having offered a sacrifice,[4] to "go out upon the earth" with the princely scribe as he is pictured at the entrance,[5] and be spectators of the occupations of an official and landowner as they are depicted upon the West wall;[6] after which we should follow Paheri's corpse in its funerary procession, and wonder at the strange ceremonies.[7] On the back wall we might read his lengthy and impressive epitaph;[8] and before leaving the tomb of the great man we should endeavour to repeat the prayers for his soul, while admiring the ceiling upon which they are written.

Some such arrangement may have been in the mind of the artist who designed the tomb, and that artist may have been Paheri himself. But our duty in this book is clear—it is to explain the plates, and to this end we had better take them as they come.

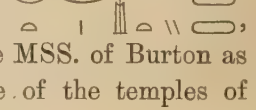
1. FAÇADE, &c. PL. I.

ON the Eastern wall of the entrance-platform or outer court Paheri is represented in a very simple dress, kneeling, with his arms raised towards the south. The inscription over his head is somewhat injured, but can be restored with certainty as an address to the local goddess Nekhebt, the mistress of the south:—

1. *Rṭet [ȧau en Nekhebt, sen ta en netert]* 2. *ȧat* (?), *ȧn [ḥȧ] mer ḥenu neter en Nekhe]bt* [.....*ȧn*] *Paḥeri, maȧ kheru:* 3. *[zeṭ]-ef* '*[ȧnez ḥer-et], nebt Re-ȧnti, nebt pet, ḥenut neteru, ḥem nefer* 4. ..... *ḥem-ef, uzȧt reyt em pet em ta, sbȧ nefer* 5. ..... *en* (?) *ṭeḳeḳ-tu se*.....*sep nefer: iu-nȧ kheret* 6. ..... *re-ȧ er meṭet* 7. *reṭui-ȧ er shemt, merti*(?)*-ȧ er ma* .....*-et em khert heru, khent-ȧ* 8. *em bu nefer en ṭeṭet-nȧ, ṭ-et uba*(?)*-ȧ Ȧment nefert em khert heru ent rȧ neb*'

"Giving [praise to Nekhebt, obeisance to] the great [goddess], by [the prince], superintendent of the priests of Nekhebt, ... the scribe, Paheri, deceased.

"He says: '[Homage to thee], lady of Re-anti (the mouth of the two valleys), lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, goodly helm [to him that hath no] rudder (?): balancing-power (?) in heaven and in earth, goodly star [of.....] that none sees [but in (?)] time of good! I have come to thee..... grant me my mouth to speak, my feet to walk, my eyes to see thy [brightness] every day, that I may enjoy the good things that are given me; grant thou me to pass through the goodly Ament (West) day by day.'"

The phrases applied to the goddess are mythologically important, but are only half intelligible, owing to the lacunae. is evidently a variant of  , which is preserved in some MSS. of Burton as a title of Nekhebt in one of the temples of El Kab.[9]

[1] Pl. ix. [2] Pl. x. [3] Pl. vi. and vii.
[4] Pl. viii. [5] Pl. ii. [6] Pl. iii. and iv.
[7] Pl. v. [8] Pl. x.

[9] Cf. also Brugsch, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 47.

The façade has suffered severely, the whole of the doorway being destroyed; at either end are inscriptions, originally about 9 feet in height, containing prayers to various deities—

en ka en ḥȧ en Nekẖeb Paḥeri maȧ-kẖeru

"for the ghost of the prince of Nekheb (El Kab) Paheri, deceased." Of these the two columns on the left are a prayer to "Amen-ra, king of the gods, that he may give his pleasant breeze coming [from the North]" and other blessings, now difficult to understand in the mutilated text. On the right, in two lines, were prayers to two goddesses, and in the third line a prayer to Osiris (?) and the god of Hieraconpolis, a city opposite El Kab, on the other side of the Nile. The texts are—

(1) [*ṭe seten ḥetep Nekhebt ḥezt Nekhen*[1]] *nebt pet ḥenut taui, ṭ-es perert nebt ḥer uṭeḥ-es em kẖert heru ent rȧ neb*

prayer to "[Nekhebt, the white one of Nekhen] (?), lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands, that she may give everything that is offered upon her altar from day to day."

(2) [*ṭe seten ḥetep Hetḥer nebt set*] *usert ȧb, ḥenut neteru, ṭ-es perert nebt ḥer kẖat-es em kẖert heru ent rȧ neb*

"[Prayer to Hathor, mistress of the mountain], mighty of heart, mistress of the gods, that she may give everything that is offered upon her table from day to day."

(3) Prayer to [*Usȧr* (?) *neb*] *pet Ḳemḥes* (?) *ḥer ȧb Nekẖen ṭe sen kẖet nebt ḥenket nebt* ..... *nebt sẖesep senu en rȧ neb*

"[Osiris (?), lord of] heaven and Kemhes (?) in Nekhen, that they may give all things, all offerings ..... and the receiving of daily food" to the *ka* (or ghost) of Paheri."

The mummied hawk wearing the crown of Upper Egypt is read by some Kemhes. This deity gave one name to the city of Nekhen, now Kûm el Aḥmar, opposite El Kab, on the other side of the river, it being known to the Greeks as Hieraconpolis, "the city of hawks."

There were probably shorter inscriptions on the jambs of the doorway, which are now quite gone. Above are the remains of inscriptions and scenes of Paheri in adoration; these formed two rows, but they are too much destroyed for any restoration to be made of them. On the right we can ascertain that the deities adored were "[Anubis of] Ut and [Osiris of] Abydos (*Abṭu*)"—

ȧn meḥ ȧb menkẖ en neb[*-ef ȧn*] *Paḥeri maȧ-kẖeru*

"by the excellent satisfier of the heart of his lord, the scribe Paheri, deceased," who is now dressed in a long tunic.

The doorway probably reached to the level of the feet of the figure of Paheri.

In the passage-way, or, technically, "in the thickness of the wall," there must have existed other inscriptions; but all this is destroyed. We can now proceed to the interior of the tomb.

2. FRONT WALL. Pl. II.

On the East half of the front wall, within a border of coloured rectangles, Paheri is represented wearing a loin cloth, a thin tunic, a broad collar and armlets, holding in his right hand a napkin or handkerchief, and in his left a staff. He is proceeding towards the door—

1. *pert em ta er ma ȧten* ..... 2. *ȧn uȧ res ṭep ḥer* 3. *kẖert neb-ef, erṭ-en* 4. *ȧr-ef rekẖut-ef* 5. *ḥȧ, ȧn,* 6. *Paḥeri maȧ kẖeru*

"going out on to the earth to see the sun's disk ..... by the uniquely watchful over his master's interests, one whose pen brought (him) his knowledge,[2] the prince, the scribe, Paheri justified."

The wall on the left of the door is destroyed. We may suppose that for the sake of symmetry there once had been a figure of Paheri corre-

[1] For the restoration of this and the following line, compare pl. ix., l. 1-3.

[2] Or "brought him fame (?)," cf. pl. ix., l. 27.

sponding to that on the other half, but turned in the opposite direction; in that case one figure would represent Paheri about to visit the indoor banquet and scene of offering upon the East wall, while the other would represent him "coming out upon the earth," as if crossing over to the out-of-door occupations upon the West wall.

Above the level of the lintel was an important scene with a boat, but only a fragment of it is preserved over the figure of Paheri, already described: possibly it indicated that Paheri or his ghost was prepared for a voyage on the river. Of a symbolical representation at the top of all, there remains only one sign, probably meaning *ȧb*, "the East."[1]

3. WEST WALL. Pl. III.-V.

Upon the West wall of the main chamber are three series of scenes. The first of these (pl. iii.) occupies nearly one-half of the total length, and represents Paheri in his public capacity as scribe and nomarch, pushing forward the operations of agriculture within his district, superintending the yearly stock-taking of the herds, and receiving the tribute of gold for the king. In the second series (pl. iv.) he is in his private domain, receiving game and fish, the produce of his vineyard and gardens, and of the looms &c. in his own house. The last section (pl. v.) is occupied with ceremonial scenes from the funeral ritual. It will be observed that all the scenes on this wall are enacted out of doors.

The Official Life of Paheri. Pl. iii.

(1) Inspection of Agriculture and Corn.

The greater part of the plate (more than two-thirds) is occupied with agricultural scenes, in three registers, dominated by a large standing figure of Paheri. The figure has been altered, the sculptor having made grievous mistakes about the head. Paheri was probably to be represented exactly as on the front wall, but the aristocratic wig, beard, and profile were forgotten until the stone had already been cut away irretrievably. The plebeian features are still the most prominent, in spite of the efforts made to rectify the mistake. Probably a coating of cement was laid on the surface and the head recut, partly in the stone, partly in the cement; but the latter having crumbled off, leaves the sorry sight of two profiles, two eyes, two ears and two wigs, neither face being now complete.

The inscription reads—

ma ȧtru sẖemu ȧtru ꜥpert, ḥenut nebt ȧrert em sekẖet ȧn ḥȧ en Nekẖeb, ḥȧ en Ȧnyt, ȧrer maa em ȧḫt nu ȧ resi, ȧn ḥeseb ȧt Paḥeri maȧ kẖeru

"Seeing the seasons of summer, the seasons of winter, and all the occupations performed in the fields, by the prince of Nekheb, the prince of Anyt, who acts and inspects in the corn-lands of the south district, the scribe of the accounts of corn, Paheri, justified."

Accompanying Paheri on his tour of inspection are three attendants bearing bags, napkins, sandals and a stool, as on the East wall;[2] one of them is the "attendant of the *ha*-prince ..... *en* (?).[3]

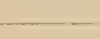
In front waits a chariot with its pair of horses of different colours; the groom Khnemem (*kazana Khnemem*) stands by holding the reins and his master's bow in one hand, and the whip in the other. The empty bow-case is seen attached to the side of the chariot. The groom endeavours to soothe and steady the impatient steeds—

ȧḥȧ em ȧr nezeb,[4] *pa ḥeter ȧqer, ḥȧ* (?) *mery neb-ef, ȧbȧ en pa ḥȧ ȧm-ef en bu neb*

[1] Cf. the top of pl. ix.

[2] Pl. vi., bottom row to left.

[3] The first sign in the name seems to be incorrectly formed in the original.

[4] seems to be for  , which is found in pl. vii., speech of the servant to Sen-senbet.

"Stand still, be not disobedient, O excellent horse, *ha*-prince (?), beloved by his master, and of whom the *ha*-prince boasts to everybody!"[1] The construction of the chariot is very primitive, the wheel having only four spokes. Horses were no doubt still scarce in Egypt; they are found, perhaps for the first time, amongst the hieroglyphs in the tomb of Paheri's grandfather, Aahmes, son of Abana, during the reign of Thothmes I.[2]

Ploughing and sowing are shown in the lowest of the three rows, reaping in the second, threshing, &c., in the first, and finally loading the corn-ships in a lower corner at the right-hand end of the fourth row. A second figure of Paheri is here introduced: as he goes down to the river to the corn-ships, he passes the ploughmen and bids them be quick.[3]

Two ploughs are drawn by oxen in pairs; with each is a driver, and a man sowing broadcast. They are singing—

hru nefer, tutu qebu, na en ȧḥu ḥer ȧth, ta pet ḥer ȧrt en ȧb-en, bak-en en pa ser

"A fine day, one is cool, the oxen are drawing, the heaven is doing according to our hearts, let us work for the noble!"

One of the ploughmen calls to the other in front of him—

as-tu, pa ḥȧti, kherp na en ȧḥu, mek pa ḥȧ ȧḥȧ ḥer peter

"Hasten, leader, forward with the oxen! behold the *ha*-prince is standing and looking on."

Four men are breaking up the clods with hoes. One exclaims—

khenems as-tu em baku, ṭe-ek uḥȧ-en er nu nefer

"Friend, hasten at the work, let us finish in good time."

To which the reply is—

ȧu-ȧ er ȧrt ḥau ḥer baku en pa ser ḳeru

"I shall do more than the work (due) to the noble: be silent (?)."

A plough of the usual form is being drawn in the opposite direction by four men with ropes, an old ploughman guiding it with both hands, and a boy sowing. Probably this is for a different crop, e.g. flax. Behind them is Paheri, who, coming down to the river to see the barges laden with corn, passes by the labourers—

uza ȧn ḥȧ Paheri maȧ kheru er atep na en usekhu em ta sekhet: zeṭ-ef en na en ȧḥutiu, as-ten, ta aḥt petet-tȧ, kher pa Ḥȧp ȧa urt

"The *ha*-prince Paheri, deceased, proceeds to load the barges in the (river-) meadow: he says to the farm-labourers, 'Hasten ye, the corn-fields are broken up (?): the Nile was very great.'"[4]

The drawers of the plough, replying—

zeṭ-sen ȧry-en, mek-en; em ȧr senṭ ḥer ta aḥt, si ṉefertȧ urt

"say, 'We are doing (so), behold us; fear not for the corn-fields, they are very good.'"

And the old driver, taking up the last word, exclaims—

neferui peru en re-ek pay[-ȧ] sherȧ; renpet nefert shut em seṭebu, senbet semu neb; kher na en beḥesu nefer er khet nebt

"Twice excellent is your exclamation, my son! the year is good, free of ills; healthy in all herbs; and the calves are excellent beyond anything."

In the next row above is the harvest. On the left we see the flax pulled up by men and women, the earth cleaned from the roots, and the stems tied in sheaves, after which the seed-heads are torn off with a comb. The old man

[1] Translations by Maspero of many of these inscriptions are to be found in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, xvii., pp. 58 ff. Others by Erman, in his *Aegypten*, and by Brugsch in his *Thesaurus*, vol. vi., pp. 1528 ff.

[2] L., *D.*, iii., 12, 6.

[3] His speech is translated below.

[4] This must be the meaning of the passage, since no ploughing is done just *before* the inundation.

at the comb calls out to the youth who brings him a sheaf—

ar an-ek nà 11009 *nuk se-ḫem-à set*

"If you bring me 11009, I am the man to strip them all." The youth answers—

as-tu em ar ásha-re, pa áa as en áḥutiu

"*Quick*, do not chatter, you old *quack* of a labourer!" [1]

Beyond the flax is the corn. The reapers are at work, holding the corn in their left hands, while they cut it high up with the right. The sickles are red, of wood, the teeth white, of flint (?). One of the reapers puts his sickle under his arm, and refreshes himself with a draught of water. They are singing—

ḫen en usheb, zeṭ-sen 'hru pen nefer per em ta' 'ta meḥyt pertà' 'ta pet ḥer àrt en àb-en' 'bak-en mert àb-en.'

"In answering chant they say, 'This is a good day, come out on to the land,' 'the north wind has come out,' 'the sky is doing according to our heart,' 'let us work and bind firm (?) our heart.'"

There are two kinds of corn—one tall with beards (barley?), the second shorter and not bearded; and the stalks of the reaped portion seem to be shown also.

A woman and a child are gleaning behind the reapers, the former with a heavy load on her back; another is cleverly carrying a basket and two vessels with provisions. One of them exclaims—

àmem nà uàt ṭet, mek à-en em mesheru; em àr na en kehesu en sef, ḳer em pa heru

"Give me a hand (or a handful?); behold we shall come in the evening, do not repeat the meanness (?) of yesterday, cease it (?) to-day."

The comfort of the reapers is not forgotten: a light and artistically constructed shelter is seen on the right, beneath which are placed jars of wine or water; these have rounded bases, and some are supported on ring-stands of pottery, others on wooden frames. Several jars are outside, and an attendant holding a napkin and a large palm-leaf fan stands by, endeavouring to cool them with a current of air, ready for the nomarch's arrival.

In the top row we see the short-stalked ears of corn taken in immense baskets to the threshing-floor. The baskets consist of network stretched on a frame, and are borne on a pole between two men. An overseer holding a twig in his hand calls out to the carriers—

às-ten, meḥ reṭui-ten, pa mu àu, peḥ-ef na en qenàu

"Hasten ye, quicken your feet: the water is coming, and (will soon) reach the baskets." The inundation is coming before the harvest operations are complete.

The carriers say—

àu pa Shu shemu, ṭe-tu en pa Shu sunt àt em remu

"The sun is hot, may the sun be given fish in payment for the corn." (The inundation would bring the fish.)

A man carrying back the pole of an empty basket, exclaims—

en ursh pa nebà ḥer remen-à reṭui? su àb-à

"Haven't I stuck to the pole all day like a man? That is what I like!" (Lit. "Does not the pole stay-all-day on my shoulder very firmly? That is my wish.")

The corn on the threshing-floor forms a circular heap, high at the circumference and with a depression in the middle, in which the oxen are treading it out; a boy with a branch of a tree or broom of twigs sweeps in the strayed stalks. The oxen are five in number, not muzzled,[2] and are driven by a man with a whip, singing—

[1] Literally, "you old fellow, refuse of labourers," but there is a play upon the words *as* "hasten," and *as* "refuse."

[2] Cf. Deuteronomy, ch. xxv., v. 4.

ḥe-ten en-ten (sep senu), ȧḥu, ḥe-ten en-ten, ḥe-ten en-ten; ṭeḥa er ȧm, ȧt en nebu-ten; em erṭe urṭ en ȧb-ten: tutu qeb

"Thresh for yourselves, thresh for yourselves, oxen: thresh for yourselves, thresh for yourselves: straw to eat, corn for your masters: let not your hearts be still: it is cool."

The next process to which the corn is subjected is the winnowing, which is accomplished by tossing the threshed grain into the air with pairs of shovels shaped something like the sole of a foot. The operators wear cloths over their hair to protect it from the chaff; one of them is sweeping the grain together for the others to scoop up.

After this the results of the crops are measured: "the scribe of the accounts of corn, Tehuti-nefer" is registering, seated on a heap of corn, from which two labourers fill their measures, afterwards to empty them upon a second heap. Another labourer stands by, holding a shovel; probably he is noting the numbers upon his shovel, as a second scribe is generally figured in these scenes.

Finally sacks are filled at the second heap, conveyed to the walled granary, and there emptied. Of the granary we are shown the plan of the square enclosure and an elevation of the doorway at one corner, and the crenellated ornament at the top of the wall is indicated. It contains a tree (sycamore?) and four heaps of grain. The material composing one of them is quite unlike the grain in the other three, and possibly represents the flax-seed.

When the granary is full, the shipment of the supply due to the government granaries is next attended to, in the fourth row. Three boats are here seen just starting on their northward voyage, with the masts shipped and resting on the rudder-post, the pilots in the bows holding their sounding-poles, and a man drawing water; the grain-compartments are doubtless full. The rudder in all the boats is a broad oar turned in a rope bearing by means of a short lever. Close by are four other boats taking in cargo: the stepped (?) gangways are put to shore, and the labourers are emptying their sacks of corn into the barges. The inscription above reads:—

ȧtep usekẖu em ȧt beṭeti: zeṭ-sen 'en ȧu ursẖ-en ḥer fat ȧt ḥenȧ beṭeti ḥezt: sẖenut meḥ, ḥer nemesmes ȧḥȧu en re-sen, nan usekẖu ȧtep ṭens, ȧt ḥer seṭ er beru: kẖer tutu ḥer as-en em sẖemt, ȧs ḥȧti-en en kẖemt'

"Loading barges with wheat and barley: they say, 'Are we to spend the whole day carrying wheat and white barley? The granaries are full, and heaps are pouring over their edges, the barges are heavy laden, and corn is jutting out: but the master is hastening us in going, behold our breasts are of bronze! (*i.e.* never fear, we are made of iron!).'"

Above, on the right, is Paheri "proceeding to load the barges." His words, translated above,[1] might perhaps be interpreted to apply only to the field-labourers who are putting in the cargo.

It will be observed that an abundant crop is hinted at throughout this scene; the cheerful idea of wealth and abundance is naturally implied in all the pictures.

(2) Registration of Cattle.

On the lower part of the wall, at the left end, is a scene much smaller than the last. Paheri is seated on a stool, writing; before him is a box, and above it on a tray the palette, a roll of papyrus, and a water-skin.

ḥeseb tenut menment ȧn ḥȧ en Ȧnyt, mer aḥt nu ȧ resi, meḥ ȧb menkẖ en neb-ef sẖaȧ em Per-Ḥether neferyt er Nekẖeb ȧn Paḥeri

"Counting the numbers of the cattle by the *ha*-prince of Anyt, the superintendent of the corn-fields of the southern district, the excellent satisfier of the heart of his lord, beginning

[1] P. 13.

from Per-Hathor[1] and reaching to Nekheb, the scribe Paheri."

The animals are driven towards him by their herds in four rows—oxen and cows with their calves in the upper two, and below asses, goats with kids, and swine. The asses are driven by a man with a whip, carrying a staff and a foot-hobble over his shoulder. The oxen lying bound upon the ground in the upper register are waiting to be branded; unfortunately the scene is imperfect, but one man appears to be heating the branding instrument at the fire, and another to be operating on an animal. The representation of swine is very rare.

Paheri's assistant in counting the animals is—

sen-ef mery-ef ân âqer en un maâ, se-kem nes, âqer nezu [*-re*?] *Paḥeri maâ kheru*

"his brother, whom he loves, an excellent scribe of very truth, perfect in tongue, excellent in conversation, Paheri, deceased."[2] He receives the asses in the two lower rows, and a similar individual is seen in the two upper rows, in one case with traces of the same name, which has here been almost entirely erased.

(3) Receipt of Gold.

This scene is of the same extent as the last, except that the corn-ships have been intruded into one corner. Paheri is seated, holding staff and baton: he wears a peculiar head-covering, that falls down the back almost to the waist, and a collar (*usekh*) is on his breast. It is unfortunate that the inscription is mutilated in an important passage, leaving the sense doubtful—

shesep neb en ḥeru qeru ..... *en shesep shayt em â kherpu nu ṭemâ pen, ân res ṭep shu em beḳi, tem meh*[*a ḥer*] *ṭeṭet em ḥer*(*i*)*-ef ḥâ Paḥeri*

"Receiving the gold of the chief miners..... ..... receiving what has been ordained from the superintendents of this town, by the prince Paheri, watchful without tiring, not failing in what has been entrusted to him."

His brother Paheri again assists, recording the amounts. In the upper row four contributors are looking on in a respectful attitude, while the gold rings are weighed in the scales against an ox-shaped weight; another man, kneeling, watches the tongue of the balance, and perhaps the plummet;[3] above are the rings in four heaps. In the lower row three bags of ore or dust are seen, beside rings; a box and a tray are in front of Paheri's brother, the scribe Paheri II., and apparently one of the four men above is having a taste of the stick, his contribution not being sufficient. The names of two of the others are given, viz., *ḥer mert Menu* (?) and *ḥer mert Ḥeru*, the chiefs of serfs Menu (?) and Heru.

The inscriptions in the temple of Redesîyeh show that there were certain gold workings in the Eastern desert the produce of which would reach the Nile valley not far from El Kab.

On the river are two ships passing each other; one is going south, with sail up, the other, with mast shipped, is being rowed northward down the stream. The latter is probably bound for Thebes, while the former is just arriving thence for a cargo of bullion. The two ships are exactly alike, each having a deck-house with two windows and look-out platform at bow and stern. A chariot is on the top of the deck-house, and the horses are in the bows behind the pilot; all this, with the painted decoration fore and aft, shows that they are not mere vessels of burthen, but are fitted up for the nomarch's voyages. At the bows of the vessel sailing southward is a pilot with a sounding-pole to try the depth and avoid the shallows; over him is written—

[1] Denderah, see above, p. 6.

[2] For this Paheri II., see p. 8.

[3] For the action, see Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. xx., and p. 42.

ȧry-en mȧ menȧ er Per neb, ṭemȧ nezem shut

"Let us give the signal (or sing the chorus?), come and moor at Per-nub (the house of gold), a city pleasant of *shut* (glitter or shadow?)."

The steersman replies—

em shu em kheru-ek, pa enti em ta ḥȧt

"Do not *shu* (waste) thy voice (or, do not fail to speak), O thou who art in the bows!" The alliteration of *shu* with *shut* is evidently the comic feature of this reply.

Paheri's Unofficial Life and Amusements. Pl. iv.

On this section of the wall[1] we have a series of representations from the private and domestic life and affairs of Paheri. They may for convenience be grouped round the three large figures of the nomarch—(1) Paheri watching the fishermen and fowlers; (2) Paheri with his wife seated under an awning, receiving fruits; (3) Paheri, with the little prince Uazmes upon his lap, receiving linen and ointments.

(1) Watching the Fishermen and Fowlers.

This scene occupies the lower third of the plates: Paheri leans on his staff, and watches—

ma sekhet aptu, ḥam remu, se-za her em kat nebt ȧrert em sekhet, ȧn ḥȧ Paheri maȧ kheru

"seeing the netting of wild fowl, the capture of fish, rejoicing the countenance with all the works performed in the river-meadows, by the *ha*-prince Paheri, deceased."

In the lower row a clap-net has been laid in a pool between clumps of papyrus, and the wild fowl have settled over it.[2] An old man on the watch behind the reeds gives the signal, and no less than nine men pull the rope which closes the net; the end of the rope has been secured round a post in the ground. We next see the captives plucked, trimmed with a knife on a sloping board, and put into jars for keeping. A crane is brought straight to Paheri.

In the upper row a large net with its floats is drawn ashore, full of fish; the catch is carried up to an old man, who splits each fish and lays it out to dry in the sun. We see also a veteran with a spindle making twine, with which the same or another manufactures the net. The attitudes of these two figures are characteristic of the processes. The one gives the spindle a twist on his thigh, the other grasps the end of the net between his toes.

(2) Paheri and his Wife seated under an Awning, receiving Fruits, &c.

This occupies the middle of the wall, and may be held to include a vintage scene and a group of the relatives of Paheri's wife.

At the top is a representation of the vintage. The vines are trellised, and the stems banked round at the roots with earth, which is cupped to hold the water and keep the ground moist. The grapes are gathered by men and women, put into baskets, and conveyed to the wine-press. At each end of the wine-press is fixed an upright forked pole, to support a bar laid across; the men treading the grapes in the trough steady themselves by grasping the ropes which hang from the middle of the cross-bar. Rows of amphorae are seen above, and a man who is no doubt filling them with a jar from the wine-press.

The products of the vineyard and gardens, as well as the fish and fowl from the nets, are offered to Paheri and his wife. They are seated together, with her arm round his neck, in an

[1] On the left side of the plate is seen the fissure in the rock. There has been no fresh injury to its right-hand edge, but on the left there have been two unsuccessful attempts to cut out groups, deep grooves having been chiselled out all round them.

[2] The water crowded with birds is faintly indicated in the original, but is not clear enough to reproduce.

arbour. This arbour has a roof of rushes (coloured green), and a mat of the same is on the ground beneath their feet. Henut-er-neheh holds a lotus flower, and vegetables resembling the seed-vessels of the lotus as figured on the monuments. The inscription reads—

sekhemkh ab ma bu nefer, &c.

"Diverting the heart and seeing good fortune by the *ha*-prince of Nekheb, Paheri, deceased, and the mistress of a house, Henut-er-neheh." Strings of pomegranates, grapes, and the flowers, buds and leaves of the lotus, cucumbers in baskets, and a bottle, presumably full of fresh grape juice (as it figures in the vintage scene), are being brought to them by three men in one row. The bottle is of a very remarkable shape, and is evidently identical with a vessel found by Mr. Petrie at Gurob, which was formed of the egg of an ostrich furnished with a long wooden spout. In the second row we note especially the ducks, lotuses, and papyrus flowers from the marshes.

The relatives of Paheri's wife are looking on as guests, and sit facing the arbour. The principal figures are "his wife's father, the chief superintendent of gold miners, Ruru," "his wife's mother Ta-amey," and "her son, the officer of his majesty, Teta." These are seated side by side on chairs, and are attended by two women with vases of unguents and wine (?); one of the attendants, named Khnemt, is so good a musician that she is entitled "the musician of the goddess Nekhebt" (*qemâyt ent Nekhebt*); between them is a large jar wreathed with a lotus, over the mouth a round platter (?). Behind the first three were probably eight more members of the family in two rows; several have been destroyed by the fracture of the rock, but we can trace or restore in the upper row—(1) "her son Se," (2) ....., (3) ..... (son), (4) "her daughter Usert"; in the lower row—(1) "her daughter Henut-ta-mehu," (2) ....., (3) ..... (daughter), (4) "her daughter Henut-urt."[1]

(3) Paheri Dandling Prince Uazmes.

In the top register Paheri is seated, wearing a thin vest, loin cloth and tunic, with the royal child upon his lap. The latter is nude, with an amulet round his neck, and the princely lock of hair on the right side of the head.

sekhemkh âb em khet nebt, ârt hru nefer, shesep nezt ḥer, ṭuat Neḥeb-kau, ân menâi en sa-seten Uazmes ḥâ Paḥeri maâ kheru

"Rejoicing the heart with everything, making holiday, receiving gifts, worshipping Nehebkau, by the tutor of prince Uazmes, the *ha*-prince Paheri, deceased."

The figures and inscriptions beyond are now grievously mutilated, but a good deal can be learnt from the copies of Hay and Burton.[2] There were figures of adults and children bringing offerings in two rows, and the inscription indicates that some of them were Paheri's children. In the shrine (pl. x.) three sons and three daughters are represented, and as there is room for six adult figures in the two rows here, it might be thought that these exactly represented the children of Paheri; but there are four, if not five, women amongst them, so this is impossible. In the upper row we can recognize the names of Ta-khenemset, Ta-ṭetetes, and Nebt-taui, the three daughters of Paheri; the figures in the lower row must have been of friends or servants. The inscription over the upper row runs—

meseb nez-[ḥer ân mes]u-ef, mesu mesu-ef, ṭuat (?)...

"Bringing offerings by his children and grandchildren, adoring (?) ....." The figure of one little granddaughter remains; but her name, if it was written at all, is now lost.

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[1] The restoration in the *Description de l'Egypte, Ant.* i., pl. 68, is evidently imaginary and incorrect.

[2] The complete restoration in the *Description de l'Egypte* is again quite wrong.

The inscription over the lower row (in which we can see that there was one man offering between two women) reads—

meseb [.....] *ḥenket renpet nebt, ṭuat* (?) *upt renpet*

"Bringing .. .. and offerings and all kinds of flowers, adoring (? or 'on the morning of'?) the New Year.[1]"

Funerary Scenes. Pl. v.

At the inner end of the West wall is a representation of the ceremonies, real or imaginary, which might take place at the funeral of Paheri. Scenes of the same character are found in several contemporary tombs at Thebes; but those hitherto published, while they throw a great deal of light on the subject, are insufficient to enable one to construct a clear statement of the order of events, or to explain many of the strange objects and figures that are met with in them. The ceremonies are represented with great elaboration in the magnificent tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes, dating from the end of the long reign of Thothmes III. and the beginning of that of Amenhotep II., and we have referred constantly to the valuable plates of M. Virey's memoir on that tomb[2] in drawing up the following description; but the variation in detail and arrangement is very great. The ceremonies provided an immense series of subjects to select from, so that probably no two tombs would show all the same. The artist of Paheri's tomb was compelled by want of space to restrict his selection within very moderate bounds. Professor Maspero has pointed out in a similar case that an inscription explaining a scene which the artist has thought good to omit has been wrongly retained, and does duty for a totally different subject. This is possibly the explanation of some apparently inappropriate legends which the reader may observe in the present instance.

It may be that all the scenes refer to one long-drawn ceremony, namely, the presentation of the mummy to various divinities and temples, accompanied by symbolical acts and offerings.

The hawk in the middle of the scene has been cut out recently, a large circular patch being defaced in the process. The restoration in the plate is from the copies of Burton, Hay and Rosellini.

a. In the top row we see the funeral sledge drawn in procession by men and oxen.[3] The rope is attached to a bar fixed upon the horns of the cattle, which are urged on with whip and gesture by the driver. Four men are hauling at the rope, three are chanting (?) with raised arms, one is burning incense; and there is one group erased. In the parallel scenes of the tomb of Rekhmara these men are styled *reth, pât, rekhyt nebt*, which means, perhaps, "people in general—both the present and past generations," all of whom do honour to the deceased. The erasure of a group is noticeable there also.

The sledge is covered by a canopy, beneath which the mummy rests upon an ornamented bier, which itself is placed upon a box or coffin. At the head is the female *ṭert shert*, "younger mourner," representing Nephthys, and at the foot the *ṭert ḥât*, "elder mourner," for Isis.

The inscription over the procession reads—

ârt qrest nefert en ḥâ Paheri, s-ârt ḥâ Paheri maâ kheru er âs-f en Kher-neter, em ḥetep, em ḥetep kher neter âa. Uza em ḥetep er âakhet, er Sekhet Âaru, er ṭuat; er semt er bu enti ḥâ Paheri pen âm

[1] It was customary on New Year's Day for an estate or household to offer gifts to the master.

[2] *Mémoires publiés par la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, tome v., 1er fascicule, *Le tombeau de Rekhmara*, par Ph. Virey. The grouping of the funeral scenes is shown on pl. xix., and the details on the succeeding plates.

[3] Compare *Rekhmara*, pl. xxi., bottom row.

"Making a good burial for the prince Paheri, conveying the Prince Paheri justified to his chamber of the Kherneter, in peace, in peace before the great god. Proceeding in peace to the horizon, to the Field of Reeds, to the Tuat; to lead to (any) place where this prince Paheri (may be)."

b. Behind the "chief mourner" is *kher ḥeb ḥer ṭep*, "the chief lector," holding a scroll.[1] The vertical line of inscription reads—

meṭ ȧn kher ḥeb ḥer ṭep, "em ḥetep, em ḥetep kher neter ȧa"

"Said by the chief lector, 'In peace, in peace, before the great god.'" Two other persons with larger wigs and long staves close the procession; they are evidently people of some distinction. In order to preserve the clear representation in profile, and avoid a back view, the artist has chosen to put their staves in the advanced left hands, instead of in the right. The inscription runs—

meṭ ȧn shesu "uza em ḥetep, em ḥetep, er ȧs-f en kher-neter; shesep fu emem uru (ȧau ?) em shes en neter ȧa"

"Said by the followers (of the procession), 'Proceed in peace, in peace to his (*sic*) chamber of Kher-neter (the necropolis); receive banquets among the nobles (or the aged ones?) as a follower of the great god.'"

c. In the second row the priest (the "officiating priest" in Rekhmara[2]), with a tall censer (*ȧr seneter* "censing"), precedes four persons (who are the *semeru* "friends" in Rekhmara) bearing a chest supported by poles on their shoulders; between the bearers are visible the two mourners, with their arms in a characteristic attitude.

d. A group of two men dancing, *khebt muu* "dancing of the buffoons;[3] four shrines—one between two palm trees, over two rectangular spaces, the first enclosing two pools (?), the second being a doorway (?). In Rekhmara this seems to represent the arrival at the temple at Pe (Buto). An officiating priest holding an enormous scroll greets a boat on its arrival—

zeṭ ȧn kherḥeb em ḥetep em ḥetep kher neter ȧa

"Said by the officiating priest, 'In peace, in peace before the great god.'" The boat is towed by a *semer* "friend," *sem*-priest, and an *ȧm khent:* it contains a tall chest, against which the two mourners, *ṭert ȧat* and *ṭert shert*, have seated themselves, closely wrapped. The same or another officiating priest, holding a scroll and raising his arm in declamation, appears behind the boat, by the side of an upright structure, crowned with *kheker* ornament . Over the boat is the inscription—

Sebt ḥȧ Paheri em ta ḥeqt ȧḥ apṭu em ȧbt usekht. Meṭ ȧn kher-ḥeb ȧrt-nef ṭemȧ em ..... neter en Ȧnpu em ȧbt usekht ȧn ḥȧ Paheri maȧ kheru

"Entertaining (?) the prince Paheri with bread, beer, flesh and fowl in (?) the Hall. Said by the officiating priest, 'The prince Paheri, deceased, has made for himself a mansion in the temple of Anubis and in (?) the Hall.'"

e. Two men holding long papyrus stalks precede a sledge drawn by three others. Upon the sledge is a somewhat shapeless mass, of which more below. The inscription, preserved by Hay and Rosellini, reads—

er Ȧmentet, er Amentet, ꜥa ta neṭem ȧnkh, er bu en unen-ek ȧm-ef yḥ ȧu me-ki ȧu (The last lines are identical in the two copies.)

"To the West, to the West, the land pleasant for life, to the place in which thou art (?): lo! come, behold I (?) come."

The object upon the sledge is of considerable interest, for it seems to be the victim for a human sacrifice, enclosed in the skin of an ox. A very similar object laid upon a table, and with a human head and hand projecting from it, is figured in the corresponding scenes

[1] Cf. *Rekhmara*, pl. xxiii., middle row, for this scene.
[2] *L.c.*, same row as last.
[3] *L.c.*, pl. xx., xxi., top row.

of the tomb of Rekhmara at Thebes,[1] and is there called Teknu; but the connection with human sacrifice is derived from the scenes of the tomb of Mentuherkhepeshef, excellently interpreted by Professor Maspero.[2] In this the Teknu is on the sledge, as in our tomb, crouching, while the hide is carried in front of the sledge;[3] and he is afterwards[4] included in the contents of a pit, apparently a fire-pit, in which a number of objects were consumed. A real, or perhaps fictitious, human sacrifice is pretty clearly indicated in another of the paintings in the same tomb:[5] the Theban necropolis requires diligent searching for further evidence of the practice. Professor Maspero states that a statue of the deceased is sometimes represented in the sledge-scene in place of the Teknu: if this is certainly a statue of the deceased, and not a figure substituted for the living Teknu, it follows that the Teknu may have been a victim to represent the owner of the tomb in some ceremony of consecrating the tomb *before* the final interment.

The statement of Plutarch,[6] that human burnt sacrifices were offered at Eileithyia (Nekheb), is perhaps no more than a very remarkable coincidence.

f. The tall chest is in a boat upon the water, with a large censer burning upon a stand in front of it.[7] One of the female mourners is kneeling in the prow, and in the stern a man stands holding a paddle. The boat appears to be already alongside the bank, for another figure is kneeling outside the boat, holding the same paddle; the artist has, however, represented the last as if he were kneeling in the water. The prow of the boat touches the symbol of the Kher-neter, represented by a mount, in which is fixed a lofty perch with a hawk on the top, while the sign 𓊹 is at the foot.

g. A figure, apparently Paheri himself, is kneeling before the shrine and image of Anubis, represented as a jackal upon a pylon.[8] Paheri's sarcophagus is in a boat behind him, placed upon a bier, with the mourners at the head and foot, while three men are about to remove the lid (?), or to carry the sarcophagus in their arms. The latter action is perhaps indicated in the tomb of Rekhmara. The inscription is—

sper er Ȧnpu khent ..... neter, ṭe er ta er Abṭu ȧn ḥȧ Paḥeri

"Approaching to Anubis in the shrine, landing at Abydos by the prince Paheri." The first part of this inscription relates to the above scene, but the second is applicable only to the ceremonies in the next row.

h. The lower row is closed by a large seated figure of Osiris in a shrine, holding the crook and flail:[9] the god is mummified, and wears the crown of Upper Egypt. He is entitled—

Ȧsȧr khent Ȧmentiu, neter ȧa, ḥeqa zet

"Osiris khent-Amenti, great god, ruler of eternity."

Before him are two stands with lotus flowers and two trays piled with offerings, which consist of joints of meat, a goose, a cucumber, cakes, &c. This offering is made by Paheri, who, having removed his wig and tunic, kneels in the simplest costume, and raises his arms to the deity—

ḥȧ en Nekheb Paheri maȧ kheru zeṭ-ef: 'ȧnez ḥer-ek neter pen shepsi, neb ta, ur Abez (?) ȧa em Abṭu: iu-nȧ kher-ek neb-ȧ em ḥetep, ḥetep-ek nȧ: ȧu nek ḥetepu, seṭem-ek nȧs-ȧ ȧr-ek zeṭet-ȧ, nuk uȧ em ṭuauu tu'

[1] Cf. *Rekhmara*, pl. xxvi.

[2] *Mémoires de la Miss. Arch. Franç.*, tome v., fasc. 3, p. 435 ff.

[3] *L.c.*, p. 439.

[4] *L.c.*, p. 457.

[5] *L.c.*, p. 452. Two non-Egyptians are being strangled.

[6] *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. 73.

[7] Cf. *Rekhmara*, pl. xxvi., top row.

[8] *L.c.*, pl. xxiv., middle row.

[9] *L.c.*, pl. xxvii.

"The prince of Nekheb Paheri, deceased, he says, 'Hail to thee, O (this) noble god, lord of earth, great of the nome of This, mighty in Abydos: I have come to thee, my lord, in peace, give me peace: there are for thee peace-offerings, hear thou my call, do thou my words: I am one of those that adore thee.'"

Behind this the scenes are again on the smaller scale, in two half-rows.

i. In the upper half-row is a sledge, closely resembling that in the top row, and containing a tall chest or coffin upon a bier, and covered with a canopy. Two men, preceded by an officiating priest holding a scroll, draw it towards—

j. Three palms and two bushy trees over a tank of water, with a small rectangular garden plot (?) above, divided into eight squares for irrigation;[1] on the edge of the plot are placed six ring-stands (?) for jars of water. This figure is puzzling: Mr. Tylor would explain it as a draught-board with the pieces for play on the edge.

k. The remainder of the half-row is occupied by ten shrines: three of them are open, disclosing the deities, one of whom is jackal-headed, the other two human-headed. In the tomb of Rekhmara[2] the shrines are fourteen in number, and the inscriptions show that they belonged to very various deities, mostly obscure, but including the four sons of Horus—Amset, Hapi, Tuametef, and Qebh-senuf—who are well known in funerary scenes.

In the lower half-row is, first—

l. A structure resembling a gateway, with what may be the rectangular plan of the building to which it gave entrance laid out flat above. In the gateway are two buffoons wearing tall caps formed of reeds tied in a bunch at the top. These buffoons are named *muu* in the tomb of Rekhmara.[3]

m. The two mourners, the elder *ṭert ḏat* and behind her the younger *ṭert shert*, are offering bowls of liquid before four libation-tables (?) or pools of water (?). The scene in the tomb of Rekhmara[4] represents these like pools full of water, and the mourners are there designated by other titles, *zemṭet* and *kenut*, the last possibly meaning "gardener."

n. Behind the mourners is a second shrine of Osiris facing the first (*h*). The figure, *Ásár neter ḏa*, "Osiris, the great god," is represented in the same way as in the larger shrine, but standing instead of sitting.

o. Behind the shrine is a rectangular enclosure, ornamented or hedged in with the *kheker* usually found on the tops of high outer walls or as an ornament for the cornice of roofed chambers; within it stand four human figures without visible arms. In the tomb of Rekhmara[5] the legend with these figures seems to read, *neteru, ári.u ḏau uru*, "Gods, keepers of the great gates."

4. EAST WALL. Pl. VI.-VIII.

The scenes here are only two in number, and seem from their subject to complete the domestic scenes of the central part of the West wall. They are on a large scale, and are probably enacted within doors, as opposed to the out-door scenes on the opposite wall. The first is a great banquet, of which numerous ancestors, relatives, and friends partake, and to which a formal and probably a funereal character is given by the presence of a robed priest to perform an opening ceremony; the second is an act of worship to the gods, accompanied by an inscription which, as summarizing the scenes in the tomb, may be taken for the starting-point or the finishing-point of all the

[1] Cf. *Rekhmara*, pl. xxvii.
[2] *L.c.*, pl. xxvi., top row, and pl. xxviii.
[3] *L.c.*, pl. xxvi., top row.
[4] *L.c.*, pl. xxvii.
[5] *L.c.*, pl. xxiv., top row.

sculptures. The portions recently damaged have been restored in the plates from the copies of Hay and Burton.

The Banquet. Pl. vi., vii.

The principal personages are (1) Paheri and his wife, whose figures are fully life-size; they are seated at a separate table, and their son Amenmes performs before them a ceremony of offering that is probably confined to banquets to the dead. (2) Paheri's father Atefrura, and his wife Kem, and Paheri's maternal grandfather, Aahmes son of Abana, and his wife Apu; these are seated at two tables and are on a medium scale. The rest of the figures are smaller, in four rows, the men in the upper rows separate from the women in the lower; these subordinate personages, maternal relatives and friends, ranging from the great-aunt of Paheri to his brothers and sisters, are seated on mats and are waited on by male and female servants, while a band of musicians entertains the party. Excepting the principal personages, the guests all wear on their heads the peculiar conical objects usually associated with such representations. The name is written over each, and in the case of the women some imaginary conversations are recorded, which, like those on the opposite wall, are instructive if not amusing. Lotus buds or flowers are in the hands of nearly all; the women invariably have one tied round the head-dress.

To proceed to the details. The decorated border on the left is composed of oblong panels of blue, red, yellow, and green alternately, separated from each other by a bar of white between two of black; the whole enclosed between two green lines which run from top to bottom of the scene.

The large figure of Paheri[1] wears a full-bottomed wig, a broad collar, and bracelets. The body is nude to the waist, his dress consisting of the loin-cloth and long transparent skirt, and he holds a napkin in his right hand while the left is stretched out to the offerings. Henut-er-neheh has the usual tight-fitting dress suspended from the left shoulder; the chest and arms are bare excepting that she wears a broad collar and bracelets: anklets are also visible below the dress; on her head is the usual covering, which falls over the shoulders: it is tied round with a fillet of rosettes, having a lotus flower between two buds on the forehead. A tame baboon, coloured grey, is tied to the back leg of the chair on which these two are seated; the animal is helping himself from a basket of fruit, perhaps sycamore figs. The inscription above is—

ḥá mer ḥenu neter en Nekhebt, meḥ ib menkh en neb-ef, án Paheri maá kheru: ḥemt-ef mert-ef ent est ib-ef nebt per Ḥenut-er-neḥeḥ maát kheru

"The ha-prince, superintendent of the priests of the goddess Nekhebt, excellent satisfier of the heart of his lord, the scribe Paheri deceased: his wife whom he loves of the place of his heart, the lady of a house Henut-er-neheh deceased." In front of the figures was a table of offerings, which has been neatly cut out by the excavators of the later chambers; the lotus flowers which lay on the top of the offerings alone remain. Above are the names of the offerings in a rectangle spaced for twenty-two in two rows; amongst them are *mu*, "water," *árp*, "wine," *bát*, "honey," with cakes of various sorts, flesh and fowl. The "determinatives" indicating the nature of each named offering are below the names, and numerals for the quantities (whether one or two of each) are put in separate lines. Amenmes, a favourite son of Paheri, who appears also in the scene of worship,[2] officiates, wearing the leopard skin, as was the custom in important ceremonies of offering. The skin is fastened on the shoulder

[1] Pl. vi.

[2] Pl. viii.

in a peculiar way; besides the skin, Amenmes wears only a loin-cloth, bracelets, and a broad collar. His inscription, partly cut away in front below, can be restored—

[*ȧrt ṭe seten ḥetep ȧn sa-ef*] *mer-ef Amen-mes, zeṭ-ef 'en ka-ten, per kheru em khet nebt, ȧu uȧb'*

"Performance of the (ceremony) *ṭe seten ḥetep* by his son whom he loves, Amenmes; he says, 'For your *kas*, a funereal offering of every kind of thing: it is pure.'" This formula is generally supposed to have been used only in offerings to the dead, but conceivably it may be a kind of "grace before meals," to be repeated at any banquet. In front of the sitting figures are the words *sma er khet nebt nefert uȧbt*, "partaking of all good and pure things."

Below this was a row of serfs bringing animals, etc., for the banquet. The cutting of the door has removed most of them, but two remain, with a goat, a gazelle, and a hare. Beyond the door they are received by the scribe Paheri II., who notes their contributions upon a tablet or papyrus. His inscription must be restored somewhat thus—

shesep [*nezt ḥer*] *ȧn sen-ef mery-ef en est ȧb-ef ȧn ȧqer en ṭep-ḥeseb Paḥeri maȧ kheru kher neter ȧa*

"Receiving offerings by his brother whom he loves, of the place of his heart, the excellent scribe of accounts, Paheri, justified before the great god."

This brother of Paheri reappears on the West wall[1] with the same name and epithets. Four small figures hold the baggage for the scribe.[2] The *shesu Ar-ḥȧt-sen* "attendant Arhat-sen" carries a roll of papyrus in his hand, and strapped to his back a large object, which may be a water-skin in a frame, with long flexible neck; the attendant Teta carries the sandals and a bag (?) over his shoulder; the "attendant whom he loves of the place of his heart" (*shesu mer-ef en est ȧb-ef*) named Kha, carries the staff and stool, while the *seḥ* (*?*) *mer-ef en est ȧb-ef*, "neighbour (?) whom he loves of the place of his heart Aputa," bears two bags and brings up the rear.

As Paheri and his wife look down the tomb, the rest of the participators in the banquet are seated facing them.[3] First we have the ancestors at their two tables. The upper group is the famous "chief of sailors, Aahmes, son of Abana," with "his wife, the lady of a house, Apu"—

(*her khenyt Ȧȧḥmes sa Ȧ-bana, ḥemt-ef nebt per Ȧ-pu*)

An animal resembling a greyhound is tied to their chair; it has been much defaced. The lower group is Atefrura, tutor of the king's son Uazmes, and his wife Kem. We know from his own tomb that Aahmes, son of Abana, was Paheri's maternal grandfather, and from this tomb that Atefrura was his father.

The lesser personages are dressed much like the ancestors, but have no anklets or armlets. The relationships indicated by the inscriptions are generally with Paheri himself, "his brother," "his grandmother's sister's son," &c.; but in the two lower rows "*her* son," "*her* daughter," &c., refer to the son or daughter of Kem, who, as we have said already, was Paheri's mother.

In the top row Paheri's brother Herari "receives all good things and makes holiday" (*shesep khet nebt nefert, ȧrt hru nefer ȧn*, &c.); he is smelling a lotus flower, and a servant, *uba en pa ḥȧ Pa-beḥeṭ*, "the butler of the *ha*-prince, Pa-behet," offers him a bowl of liquid, while he holds two tiny jug-like vases in his left hand. The bowl is evidently of embossed metal, from the character of the ornament upon it.

Behind Herari sits Paheri's second cousin Teta (*sa en sent ent met ent met-ef*, lit. "son of the sister of the mother of his mother"), who

[1] Pl. iii. [2] Cf. pl. iii., left-hand end. [3] Pl. vii.

was an "attendant of His Majesty." Next is his cousin Mezay-se, of the same degree, and then "his mother's brother" Mey: the last appears to refuse the proffered bowl, and the servant, who holds a deep jar, empty, in his left hand, says, *uṯ-nà nekt, uaḥ-à tu*, "Command me something, and I will let thee alone." The servants of Paheri are evidently very importunate in their attentions to the visitors, as they should be in the house of so generous a host.

The next name is much erased; we can, however, discern *kẖenems-ef.....Tetà*, "his friend A-hotep, son of (?) Teta;" next "his friend the *kẖer-heb* Tehuti-mes," and, last in the row, "his mother's brother Meshau."

The second row shows us Paheri's brothers—(1) Aahmes; (2) Pamau, "an attendant of his majesty"; (3) Sen-mes, a "guardian of Amen"; (4) Tehuti-em-hat; (5) Amen-hotep, an "officer of his majesty"; also, a "friend" with the inscription erased, and his second cousin Kem. The servant who offers a jar to Tehuti-em-hat is "the butler Teta."

We next come to the female relatives.

In the third row are three daughters of Kem, viz. [Thu]pu, Nub-em-heb, and Amen-sat; also Paheri's second cousin Nub-mehy, and his three nurses,[1] Hepu (*menåt-ef Hepu*), Sensenbet, and Thupu. Amensat refuses the bowl, and the servant says jestingly—

n ka-et s-urà er tekẖt, år hru nefer, à seṭem na zet tayt årt, em år ḳeḥt em åzau (?)

"For thy *ka*, drink to drunkenness, make holiday; O listen to what thy companion is saying, do not weary of taking (?)."

Her companion and distant cousin Nub-mehy is saying to the servant, "Give me eighteen cups of wine, behold I should love (to drink) to drunkenness, my inside is as dry as straw!"—

åmem-nà XVIII *en ynru en årp, me-k merer-à er tekẖt, est åm-à en ṭeḥa* (lit. "the place in me is of straw").

Another servant addresses Sensenbet. "He says, 'Drink, do not refuse (?); behold I am not going to leave you'"—

zeṭ-ef surà, em år nezeb; me-t nen àu-à er uaḥ-et

And Thupu seconds his efforts: "Drink, do not spoil the entertainment: and let the cup come to me: behold it is due to the *ha* to drink"—

surà em år ḥua thenf, ṭe-et peḥ-uà ta setht: me-t nesi pa ḥà en surà

The tone of conversation at these parties is not higher than one would expect from the representations of convivial scenes which Wilkinson copied at Thebes.

In the bottom row are the musicians. The harpist wears an ostrich feather in her hair, which is dressed like that of a man; in front of her is a young girl with clappers, dancing; a woman playing on the double pipe; and three women seated, clapping their hands to mark time.

Behind the musicians are Amen-Sat and Tetuta, great-aunts of Paheri; the latter is accompanied by her daughters Zab, Ty, and Nub-em-nehebt.

Paheri Worshipping. Pl. viii.

Paheri, represented on a large scale, upholds in each hand a censer with five wicks; behind him stands his wife and three of their children, the latter on a small scale: they are *sat-ef urt mert-ef Ta-ṭeṭ-es*, "his eldest daughter, whom he loves, Tatetes"; *sa-ef mer-ef Amenmes*, "his son, whom he loves, Amenmes"; and "his son Ra-hotep." The first two appear to have been the eldest *surviving* children; the order of the names in the shrine[2] indicates that they were born after Takhenemset and Kha-em-uast.

[1] *Khenems* "honoured friend," and *menåt* "nurse," would almost seem to be used as parallel honorific terms for male and female acquaintances, respectively.

[2] Pl. x.

The inscription in large characters before Paheri reads—

ḥetep em set ȧmentet, pert em ta er ma ȧten; un uaut en ȧaḵḥ ȧqer ȧm ḵḥer-neter; rṭet-nef sḥemt-ef, ȧq pert em ba ȧnḵḥy, rṭet ḥekenu en Ȧm ṭuat, uṭen ḵḥet nebt nefert uȧbt en Rȧ Hru-ȧaḵḥti en Nekḵhebt nebt pet, en Ḥet-ḥer ḥert ṭept set, en Usȧr neter ȧa, en Ȧnpu neb ta zeser; ṭe-sen se-sent nef nezem en meḥyt; ȧn, &c.

"Repose in the Western mountain, coming forth upon the land to see the sun's disk, opening of the roads to the perfect spirit who is in Kher-neter; may he be allowed to walk out, to enter and go forth as a living soul; to give offerings to Him who is in the other world (Osiris), and to present all good and pure things to Ra-Horus of the two horizons, to Nekhebt lady of heaven, to Hathor princess of the mountain, to Osiris the great god, and to Anubis lord of the sacred land; that they may give the breathing of the pleasant breeze of the north wind; by" the ha-prince Paheri and his wife.

This is apparently a summing-up of all the scenes in the tomb: Paheri's desire for future life was to have access both to the world of the dead and the world of the living, and in the latter he would wish to enjoy again the times of prosperity which he had passed through on earth: it was for this reason that he caused them to be represented in the paintings.

Beyond the hieroglyphs are four piles of offerings on reed mats. The top row consists evidently of jars containing the seven sacred oils, so often represented; in the next is a gorgeously coloured goose, with the haunch of an animal, a wooden stand with offerings, &c. In the third heap is a bunch of onions, and three jars of liquids, placed on ring-stands, are wreathed with lotuses.

Behind the offerings four female musicians are standing, holding up in their right hands the sacred rattle called by the classical writers *sistrum;* another instrument, the *menȧt,* formed partly of a string of beads of various hues, hangs down in their left hands. In the third row is a male figure, much injured, holding a branch of lotuses in the right hand and a vase (?) in the left. The signs over his head seem to indicate that he is the "[priest of] the goddess Nekhebt, Sen....."

Beneath this scene four men are bringing offerings to the banquet, or to the sacrifice above.[1] The leader of these has a very large bunch of flower-stems (*sa en sent ent met ent ḥemt-ef .....Kem* (?) "..... Kem (?) the son of the sister of the mother of his wife," in other words Paheri's uncle by marriage); next, bearing a jar of wine (?) and a live goose is *kauti Sen-nefer,* "the gardener Sen-nefer"; and after him "the gardener Uhemu," with white cakes (coloured white) and lotus flowers. Behind these are butchers cutting up two oxen and conveying the joints to the same destination as the others. The *seten* (?) ("butcher") Then-na is endeavouring, with the help of an assistant, to separate the foreleg from the carcase of one of the animals; one man is taking some ribs, another a foreleg.

At the south end of the wall is a border of coloured rectangles, similar to that at the northern end, described on p. 23.

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5. LONGITUDINAL INSCRIPTIONS (FRIEZE AND CEILING).

The line of large hieroglyphs over the scenes on the West wall, from end to end of the main chamber,[2] reads—

ṭe ḥetep seten Usȧr ḵḥent Ȧmentiu, neteru ȧmu Ḵḥer-neter, ṭe-sen se-sent nef nezem en meḥt, ȧrt ḵḥeperu em ba ȧnḵḥ, en ka en Usȧr ḥȧ Paḥeri maȧ ḵḥeru. Un-ek pequ em sḥert kemt, ṭe-tu nek meṭ em Ta-nent, ȧm-ek sḥens, surȧ-ek meḥȧ ḥer ḵḥat ent neter aȧ, fut-ek em peru ḵḥentui: ȧu ḥetept-ek em Ȧnḵḥ-

[1] Compare pl. vi.

[2] Pl. iii.-v., top.

taui: sekhem-ek em mu er ḥetep ábt-ek, se-sen-ek nef en meht, ámakhy kher Ánpu Usár ḥá Paheri maá kheru

"A royal offering (?) give Osiris Khent-Amentiu, and the gods who are in Kher-neter, may they give the smelling of the sweet breeze of the north wind, and the making of transformations as a living soul, to the ghost of the Osiris, the *ha*-prince Paheri, deceased. Mayest thou bite the cakes of black barley (?), may there be given to thee a staff in Tanent, mayest thou eat a loaf, and drink a cup of milk on the altar of the great god, and mayest thou receive gifts in the inner houses: may there be offerings for thee in Ankh-taui, mayest thou have water at command to thy heart's desire: mayest thou breathe the breeze of the north wind, O trusty before Anubis, Osiris, *ha*-prince Paheri, deceased!"

Similarly on the opposite side[1]—

seten ḥetep ṭe Nekhebt ḥezt Nekhen, fut-á(?) nebt Fák[2] *(?); Het-ḥer ḥert ṭept set; Usár ḥaq zet; Ánpu khent ..... neter ám ut, Neb Ta-zeser, Set Amentet, áábt khet, ánqet qesu, se-ment sáḥ er est-ef: ṭe-sen per-kheru ta ḥeqt áḥu apṭu ḥebs (?) se-neter merḥet ḥetept zefa khet nebt nefert uábt ḥenket ám en neter, ḥau [ḥer?*[3]*] khet em ṭep tráu, perert her uṭḥ en rá neb; en ka en ḥá en Nekheb án Paheri maá kheru; zeṭ-ef 'á ṭeṭyu ta ḥeqt en ḥau menkhu em per Usár, ṭe-ten ta ḥeqt er terui en ba ḥená-ten, ámakhy kher Usár ḥá en Nekheb Paheri, maá kheru'*

"A royal offering give Nekhebt, the white one of Nekhen, wide-stretching (with wings), mistress of Fak; and Hathor, princess of the desert: and Osiris, king of eternity: and Anubis in the shrine, who is in the Oasis (?), lord of Ta-zeser: and the Western desert which offers (?) the corpse, embraces the bones, and lays the noble mummy in its place; that they may give funerary meals, bread, beer, oxen, wild-fowl, linen, incense, wax, offerings, foods, and all good and pure things of which offerings are made to a deity, beyond the offerings at the beginnings of the seasons, and what appears upon the altar daily; to the *ka* of the *ha*-prince of Nekheb, the scribe Paheri, deceased; he says, 'O ye who give bread and beer to the excellent souls in the house of Osiris, give ye bread and beer twice daily (?) to the soul who is with you, the devout before Osiris, the *ha*-prince of Nekheb, Paheri, deceased."

The middle line on the ceiling and the two side lines above the khaker ornament are too much mutilated to be readily copied.

6. THE BACK WALL AND NICHE.

Pl. IX.-X.

The Back Wall. Pl. ix.

The inscription on the Back wall is remarkable for its length; the themes are the usual ones—the virtues of the deceased, the prayers for a happy future, and the desire that visitors should repeat formulæ to ensure ample food for the ghost. The ha-prince of Nekheb was a careful man, who knew the value of detail; he was an "excellent scribe of accounts," and his accuracy in business was, no doubt, the cause of his wealth and prosperity. Paheri not only filled every available space in his tomb with elaborate scenes neatly planned upon the walls, but when this important inscription, which was to provide for the future of his *ka* and carry down his name and virtues to posterity, had to be composed, he developed it to an unusual extent. It is unfortunate that it contains no scrap of biography, but this is a rare thing to find, and perhaps would have been considered in bad taste, excepting for a warrior.

In this inscription, as in most, there are expressions that are still obscure, and words that

[1] Pl. viii.-vi.

[2] The copies agree with the photograph in indicating incorrectly for .

[3] There is perhaps space for in the break.

are quite unexplained. It would require much study and a long commentary to fully elucidate it, even where the meaning is certain. For the present we are satisfied to give the bare translation, since it displays many quaint ideas, and cannot fail to be interesting. The vignettes of the Book of the Dead would illustrate many passages in the first half of the inscription.

Ll. 1-21. Prayers to the gods for the soul of Paheri, changing to benedictory addresses to Paheri himself in l. 4. *Ll.* 22-35. Paheri speaking, reviews his own virtues. *Ll.* 36 *to end.* Paheri's address to posterity, inviting them to recite prayers for him, and to read and imitate his virtues, and assuring them of the genuineness of the record.

1. May the king propitiate (?)

Amen, lord of the thrones of the two lands, king of eternity, lord of everlasting, the prince possessing the great double plume, sole one in the presence, heir .... men and gods, living flame issuing from Nu (the watery firmament), light (?) 2. of mortals

Nekhebt, the white one of Nekhen, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands

Osiris, chief of the dwellers in the West (the Amentiu), lord of earth, the great one of the nome of This, mighty in Abydos

Hathor, lady of the mountain, strong of heart amongst the gods

Ptah-Sokaris, lord of the secret (tomb-) chamber

Anubis, lord of the Mouth of the Passage .....

[that they may give ghostly banquets: (the enjoyment of) offerings of provisions by the thousand; of gifts of flowers 3. and everything that grows upon the face (lit. "back") of the earth by the thousand; and of everything good and pure offered before the lord of eternity, by the thousand; the receiving of food that has appeared in the Presence and milk that has appeared upon the altar; the drinking of waters that have been brought (?) from Elephantine; (and the breathing of) the north wind .....

[in the feast of ..... the feast of the first day of the month], the feast of the month (2nd day), the feast of the 6th day, the feast of the half-month, the feast of the great appearing, the feast of the appearing of Sothis ..... the greater and lesser heats, the first *mesper* (?) (3rd day) the birth of Isis, the appearing of Menu[1] (30th day of the month), the appearing of the *sem*-priest (4th day), the feast of service in the evening (5th day) and the feast of the inundation 4. the feasts of heaven in their times, and in that which belongs to the day for each day (i.e. the daily feasts)

1. *ṭe seten ḥetep*

Ámen neb nesut taui, seten neḥeḥ, neb zet, áty neb shuti urti, ám [baḥ?] ur, semsu ..... reth neteru, teka ánkh per em Nu, shesep? 2. *en ḥamemt*

Nekhebt ḥezt Nekhen, nebt pet, ḥenut taui

Usár khent Ámentiu, neb ta, ur Abez (?), *áa em Abṭu*

Ḥet-ḥer nebt set usert áb emem neteru

Pteḥ Sekeri neb shetayt

Ánpu neb Re-seta

[*ṭe-sen per kheru.....*] *kha em ḥetept zef, kha em ḥenket renpet* 3. *reṭet nebt ḥer sa ta; kha em khet nebt nefert uábt maát ẹm baḥ neb neḥeḥ; shesep senu per em baḥ, ártet pert ḥer uṭeḥ; surá mu besyu em Abu; meḥy .....*

..... *em ábṭet, ...ent, ...ent, pert áat, pert septet, rekḥ áa, rekḥ nezes, mesper* (?) *ṭepi, mest eset, pert Menu, pert sem, khet khaui, shesept átru* 4. *ḥebu nu pet er su-sen em khert heru ent rá neb*

[1] Formerly read Khem.

and that there may be fitted upon thee sacred linen of fine stuff therefore, from the cast-off vestments of the divine limbs: that thou mayest be sated (?) with pure oil: that thou mayest drink water upon the vessel (?) of the altar: that thou mayest partake of offerings therewith, attended by honoured persons,

(may all the above be granted) to the *ka* (ghost) of the prince of Nekheb, Paheri, justified.

5. O excellent satisfier of the heart of his master! mayest thou go in and out, thy heart enlarged, in the favours of the lord of gods; a good burial after a long life of honourable service: when old age comes and thou arrivest at thy place in the coffin and joinest the earth in the necropolis of the West, becoming a living soul. O! may it enjoy bread, water, and breath, may it make 6. its transformations into a heron, swallow, hawk, or egret, as thou desirest: mayest thou cross (the river) in the barge and not be driven back; and sail upon the waves of the stream; may thy life come to thee a second time; may thy soul not depart from thy body; may thy soul be strong with the glorious spirits, may the noble souls speak with thee, 7. thy image associated therewith receiving what is given upon earth; that thou mayest drink water, smell the breezes and enjoy thy heart's desire; may thy eyes be given thee to see, thy ears to hear speech: thy mouth speaking, thy feet walking, may thy hands and arms return to thee; may thy flesh be firm, thy muscles (?) pleasant, mayest thou rejoice in all thy limbs: 8. mayest thou reckon thy limbs entirely healthful, no ills in thee at all: thy stomach with thee in very truth, thy heart of former days: mayest thou go out to heaven and pi[erce the earth]..... ..... may a summons be given thee daily to the altar of Unnefer: mayest thou receive cakes that have appeared in the Presence, offerings of the Lord of Ta-Zeser.

9. (all the above) for the *ka* of the prince of Nekheb (El Kâb), the prince of Anyt (Esneh): accountant of corn from Ant (Denderah) unto Nekheb, overseer watchful 10. and free of weariness, the scribe Paheri, justified.

Mayest thou eat the *shens*-cake with the god at the great staircase 11. of the lord of the divine cycle: mayest thou return from it to the place where he is amongst the chief divine officials: mayest thou walk with 12. them and associate with the followers of Horus: mayest thou depart and come without being turned back 13. or stopped at the gate of Tuat: may the doors of the horizon be opened to thee, and the bolts unlock themselves for thee; 14. and mayest thou arrive at the Hall of the two Truths, and the god who is in it salute thee, and mayest thou sit within the Amhet, and walk abroad in the City 15. of the Nile,

ârq-tu nek uâbu em peqt âriui em se-fekḫu ḥâu neter: sasa-tu nek em zet uâbt: surâ-ek mu her setep (?) *ḫau: sma-ek ḫet emem âri, sâḥ-tâ em ṭepu ḥesyu*

en ka en ḥâ en Nekḫeb ân (?) *Paḥeri maâ-ḫeru*

5. *Meh âb menkḫ en neb-ef, âq-ek per-ek âb-ek fu, em ḥesut ent Neb neteru: qrest nefert em-ḫet âau âmaḫ: âaut âi-tâ, ḫnem-ek est-ek em neb ânḫ, sma-ek ta em hert âmentet, ḫeper em ba ânḫy: hem sekḫem-ef em ta mu nefu, ârt-ef* 6. *ḫeperu em benu ment em bâk shenti pu mer-ek: za-ek m âḫent nen ḥenḥen-ek; se-qetyek nut nuy; ḫeper ânḫ-ek em uḥem-â; ân rwi ba-ek er ḫet-ek; netri ba-ek ḥenâ âaḫu, meṭu-nek bau menḫu,* 7. *senti-ek emem âri ḥer shesep ṭeṭut ṭep ta; sekḫem-ek em mu, tepâ-ek nefu, bâbâ-ek em ḫert âb-ek; ṭeṭe-tu nek mert*(?)*-ki er maa, ânḫui-ki er seṭem zeṭut: re-ek ḥer meṭut, reṭ-ek ḥer shemt, pekḫer-nek âui-ki, remen-ki; ruṭ auf-ek, neṭem met-ek, ḫent-ek em ât-ek nebt:* 8. *âpek ḥâu-ek tem uzau, nen ḫut ârt-ek resi: âb-ek mâ-ek en un maâ, ḥâti-ek nek en âm ḥât: per-ek er pet uba-ek* [*ta*(?).....[*n*]*âs-tu nek em ḫert heru ḥer uṭḥu en Unen-nefer: shesep-ek senu per em baḥ, fut-â en neb Ta-Zeser*

9. *en ka en ḥâ en Nekḫeb, ḥâ en Ânyt, ḥeseb ât shaâ em Ânt neferyt er Nekḫeb, ḫerp res ṭep* 10. *shu em beḳi, ân Paḥeri, maâ ḫeru*

âm-ek shens er ḳes neter er reṭ ur 11. *en neb pat neteru: uḥâ-ek âm-ef er bu ḫer-ef em qab zazat ṭept: se-tutu-ek emem* 12. *âri, ḫenems-ek shesu Ḥeru: per-ek ha-ek, nen ḥenḥ-ek nen* 13. *shenâ-ek ḥer sba en ṭuat: un-tu nek âaui âaḫet, seshen nek qert zes-*14. *sen; ḫnem-ek usekḫt ent maâti, usheṭ-tu neter âmes; âr-ek ḥems em ḫenu âmḥet, usten-ek em net* 15. *ent Ḥâpi, fu âb-ek em seka-ek em sheṭ-ek en*

and thy heart be enlarged with thy ploughing in thy portion of the Field of Aaru: mayest thou have possessions 16. of thy own getting, and may the harvest of fruits come to thee; may the rudder line be guided for thee in the barge, 17. and mayest thou voyage according to the bent of thy desire; mayest thou go forth every morning and betake thyself home (?) every 18. evening; may a lamp be lighted for thee at nighttime until the light (of the sun) rises upon thy breast: may one say to thee 19. "Come, come into this thy house of the living!" mayest thou see Ra on the horizon of heaven and view 20. Amen at his rising: may thy waking be good each day, destroying utterly for thee all evil: mayest thou draw out eternity in pleasure of heart, 21. by the favour of the god who is in thee: thy heart (stomach) with thee not torturing thee, and thy food remaining in its place.

Sekhet Àaru: kheper khert-ek em 16. *àrt nek, iut nek shemu em uaḥyt; àqa-tu nek àq em mákhent* 17. *se-qeṭy-ek kheft ṭeṭ àb-ek; per-ek er ḥa tenu ṭuau, nu-ek tu tenu* 18. *mesheru; seta-tu nek teka em ḳerḥ er uben shu ḥer shenbet-ek: zeṭ-tu nek* 19. *'àiui àiui em per-ek pen en ànkhu,' ṭeḳy-ek rà em àakhet en pet, se-ḳemḥ-ek* 20. *Àmen uben-ef: res-ek nefer em khert heru, ṭer-nek seṭebu neb er ta, seb-ek neḥeḥ em nezem-àb* 21. *em ḥesut neter àmi-ek: àb-ek má-ek nen bethet-ef tu zefu-ek men er est àri*

(all the above) to the *ka* of the scribe Paheri, justified: 22. he says

en ka en àn Paḥeri maà kheru: 22. *zeṭ-ef*

"I am a departed soul that was good to his lord, wise of countenance, without failure of heart: I walked 23. upon the road that I had planned, I knew that which results from life: I reckoned the boundaries in writing, 24. the dykes (?) with all the care (?) of royal affairs (?): all matters of the royal house L. P. H.[1] were like the Nile flowing to the Great Green (sea). 25. My mouth was firm in improvement for my master: I feared for the matter of the balance (of account): I did not forget (? or turn away my face), there were no exchanges, I did not 26. receive bribes (?) from the results; my own [heart] guided me to the road of those who are praised of the 27. king: my pen made me very learned: [it] justified [my words before the] auditors (?): it caused 28. me to be distinguished (lit. "coloured"): I informed (?) the nobles..... ..... in the Presence: 29. my good quality advanced me ..... 30. When I was placed upon the scales [I turned out true?], when I was counted (?) I had the full number.

nuk sàḥ àakh en neb-ef, shesa ḥer, shu em mehet-àb: shem-nà 23. *ḥer uat nez-nà si, rekh-nà peru en ànkh: àu ḥeseb-nà ṭeru em seshu, uṭebu* 24. *em shesu neb en seten: khet nebt ent per seten, ànkh, uza, senb, mà Ḥapi ḥer seta er Uaz-ur.* 25. *Re-à ruṭ ḥer se-menkh en neb, senṭ kuà ḥer khert zat: en sekhi ḥer-à, en ṭebu, en* 26. *shesep khesai em peru; sem-en uà [àb]-a zes-à er uat en ḥesyu en* 27. *seten, àr-en uà àri-à em rekh-khi,[2] se-maà [-nef kheru-à em baḥ zaza?]ṭ: ṭe-nef* 28. *àun-à: hab-à seru s ..... à em baḥ: se-àr* 29. *-en uà qeṭ-à nefer: nàs k[uà?.....ṭyt* 30. *ṭeṭ kuà ḥer mekhat per-nà ....., àp kuà meḥ kuà*

31. "I prospered when I went out and when I returned, my heart was likewise: I did not speak to 32. deceive another: I knew the god who is in men, I recognized him: 33. I knew this from that: I performed matters according to the commands, I did not alter a message in delivering 34. it, I did not speak words above the station of serfs (?): I did not repeat to those who had no 35. constant character. I brought (?) enjoyment (?) to the patient man—I who am praised and born of the body of the praised," 36. the prince

31. *uza kuà shem-nà à-nà, àb-à kher màti: nen zeṭ-à ḳeru* 32. *er ky: rekh kuà neter àmi reth, sa-à su:* 33. *rekh-à pefa er pen: àr-na khet mà uṭeṭet, en sheb-à upt ḥer semà* 34. *-es: en zeṭ-a meṭet ent ḥau meru: en uḥem-à en àutiu* 35. *qeṭ-sen: ànuk àn neḳhu (?) en uaḥ àb, ḥesy per em khet ḥesu,* 36. *ḥà en Nekheb Paḥeri*

[1] Life, prosperity, and health! a good wish that was generally uttered after naming the king; it is abbreviated in writing.

[2] Cf. pl. ii., l. 4.

of Nekheb, Paheri, justified, begotten of the nurse (tutor) of the king's son, the scribe Atefrura justified, and born of the mistress of the house 37. Kam, justified—he says

maá kheru, ár-en menâi en sa seten, án Átef-rura maá kheru, mes-en nebt per 37. *Kam maát kheru—zeṭ-ef*

"Hear, ye who are to come into existence, I speak to you and there is no deceit 38. in what I say

"seṭem ár-ef ten entiu em kheper, zeṭ-a enten, nen ḳeru 38. *ám*

"O ye living and existing nobles and people upon earth, servants of gods, and priests and those connected with them, every scribe who takes 39. the palette, skilful in divine words, and every excellent man of his inferiors, opening his mouth in boasting of 40. his occupation—May Ra, lord of Eternity, favour ye, and Nekhebt the white goddess of Nekhen: and all ye who are established in your (lit. his) offices, may ye bequeath them to your children

"á ánkhu unenyu seru reth ṭepu ta, ḥenu neter, uábu áru-sen, án neb shesep 39. *mestá, shesa-ḥer em meṭu neter, áqer neb en semṭet-ef, ten re em ábá* 40. *unut-ef, ḥesy-ten Rá neb neḥeḥ, Nekhebt ḥezt, entiu* (sic) *neb menkh em áat-ef, se-uaz-ten en khreṭu-ten*

"41. if ye say '*May the king propitiate*' in accordance with that which is in the writings, '*comings forth in answer to words*' in the formula of the ancients like the utterance of a god, 42. and whosoever bends his hand in prayer may he act in the correct manner, and perform his devotion according to the rules, testifying 43. from the reading of the command here written: 'mayest thou have loaves by the thousand, beer by the thousand, and by the hundred thousand all things good and 44. sanctified by offering and pure'—to the ghost of Osiris, the prince of Nekheb and Anyt, who satisfied the heart of the superintendent of seal-bearers 45. in the southward voyage (of inspection), the excellent scribe of accounts, Paheri, justified.

41. *má zeṭet-ten 'ṭe seten ḥetep em sent er entet em seshu, pert er kheru em zeṭ ṭepu-á má perert em re en neter: qáḥ* 42. *-tefi neb em ṭet-ef, kheper-ef em sekher maát, árt má kheper má entet er hepu, se-meteru* 43. *khent uṭ pen 'kha-ek em ta, kha-ek em ḥeqt, ḥefnu em bu neb nefer* 44. *maáu uáb' en Usár ḥá en Nekheb ḥá en Ányt, meḥ-ab en mer...t em ta khentyt,* 45. *án áqer en ṭep ḥeseb Paheri maá kheru*

"I say to you and cause you to know, that is by reading (this memorial): 46. it has no boasts (?), there is no injury or protest in it, 47. it is not a quarrel with another, nor a contradiction of a man who was miserable 48. in his time: they are pleasant words of cheerfulness, which the heart wearies not to hear: it is the breath 49. of the mouth which is not eaten, which hastens not and delays not: it will be well for you to do the like: [ye would have (?)] found [it true (?)] if 50. ye had (?) come here when I was in this land of the living, not a shame to my god. I have become a [soul] 51. well furnished, I have established my place in Kher-neter; my possessions of all kinds are with me, that I may not refrain from (?) answering ..... 52. my father('s mummy) was an object of reverent care to him whom he created, he lacked not (the son) whom he had begotten.

zeṭ-á enten te-á rekh-ten, shetet ás 46. *pu, nen peru-ef, nen se-ḥurá, nen se-khun ám-ef, nen áḥa* 47. *pu ḥená ky, nen aábet ent ḥuru* 48. *em at-ef: meṭet nezemt ent se-zai ḥer, en sa-en ḥáti em seṭem [set]: nef* 49. *en re, en ám-en-tu, nen sekhes, nen urṭ ám-ef: nefer enten ár-ten set: ḳem* ..... 50. *ḥesi-ten: un-á em ta pen en ánkhu, nen áu en neter-á: kheper kuá em* ..... 51. *ápery, se-menkh-ná est-á em kher-neter: khert-á em á-á em khet nebt, en tem usheb* ... 52. *átef pu sáḥ en ár-nef, en khem-nef setet-nef mu*

"May your hearing of this be pleasant."

Nefer seṭem-ten

The last sentence is the concluding formula in letters of the early period, and not inappropriately terminates the long address to visitors.

Statues in the Niche. Pl. ix.

Over Paheri's head is a vessel of water, symbolising purification (?), and his two great titles of "*ha*-prince of Nekheb" (El Kab, Eileithyiapolis) and "*ha*-prince of Anyt" (Esneh, Latopolis) are on either side, as well as the title of "scribe," which is repeated with each. Over the heads of the others is "his mother, whom he loves, the mistress of a house, Kem, deceased," and "his wife, whom he loves, the lady of a house, Henut-er-neheh" (*ḥemt-ef meryt-ef, nebt per Ḥenut-er-neḥeḥ*) : her name means "mistress for ever."

Sides of the Niche. Pl. x.

On the left wall of the shrine "the *ha*-prince, the superintendent of priests, the scribe" Paheri, and his wife, are seated before a table of offerings, while his son Amenmes performs a ceremony which enables the deceased to enjoy them—

ȧrt ṭe ḥetep seten ȧn sa-ef mer-ef Ȧmen-mes: zeṭ-ef 'se-sen-ek nef en meḥt, ḫenem-ef em ȧntiu se-neter'

"Performing the ceremony of funerary offerings by his son, whom he loves, Amen-mes: he says, 'mayest thou breathe the breath of the north wind; may it smell of frankincense and incense.'"

Also, *en ka-ek, ȧu uâb*, "For thy ka, it is pure," words which were necessary for the acceptance of the funerary meal.

A little child, wearing the lock of youth, stands by the side of Henut-er-neheh. This may be one of the grand-children,[1] or perhaps the young prince Uazmes II.[2] Below the table is *sma ḫet nebt nefert*, "partaking of all good things." Underneath the scene are six sons and daughters of Paheri, including Amenmes himself, seated on a mat, and smelling lotus flowers and buds.

On the right-hand wall of the shrine is Paheri himself offering to two royal children, and to his parents who had educated one of them. These are, on the first chair, *sa seten Uazmes*, "the king's son Uazmes," and *sen-ef mer-ef sa seten Amenmes*, "his brother, whom he loves, the king's son Amenmes;" on the second, *menâi en sa seten Uazmes Ȧtefrurȧ maâ ḫeru*, "the tutor of the king's son Uazmes, Atefrura, deceased," and *nebt per Kem*, "the mistress of a house, Kem." Beneath the altar are the symbols of the objects offered—bread, beer, flesh, fowl, cord, linen, incense, ointment, gifts and flowers of all kinds, together with the sign for a thousand placed under most of them.

Below this scene are nine sons and daughters of Kem seated on the ground, including "her son who makes their name to live, the prince of Nekheb, Paheri" (*sa-es se-ânḫ ren-sen*, &c.).

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[1] See above, p. 18.

[2] See above, p. 6.

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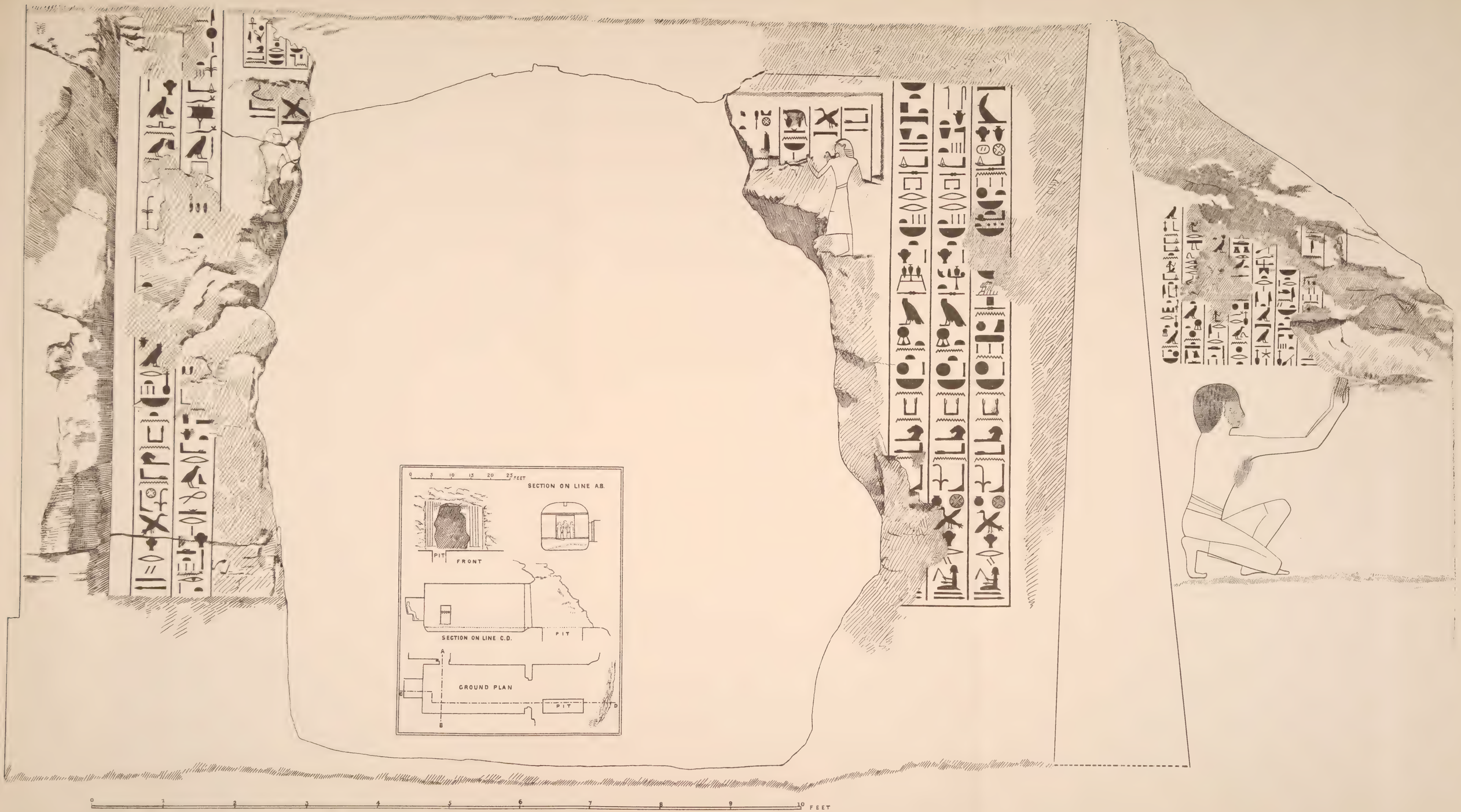
CORRIGENDA.

Pl. I. Scale in top left-hand corner : for 1 : 19 read 1 : 13.

Pl. V. Right-hand end of second row from top : the hair of the two dancing figures, of the four bearers of the shrine, and of the censer-bearer should all be plain, not frizzled. In the middle of the next row, the hair of the figure standing in the boat likewise should be plain. In the lower right-hand corner of the plate, the end of the crown of Osiris should be more nearly vertical, terminating in a knob.

Pl. VII. The body-line of Hepu should be completed between the arms.

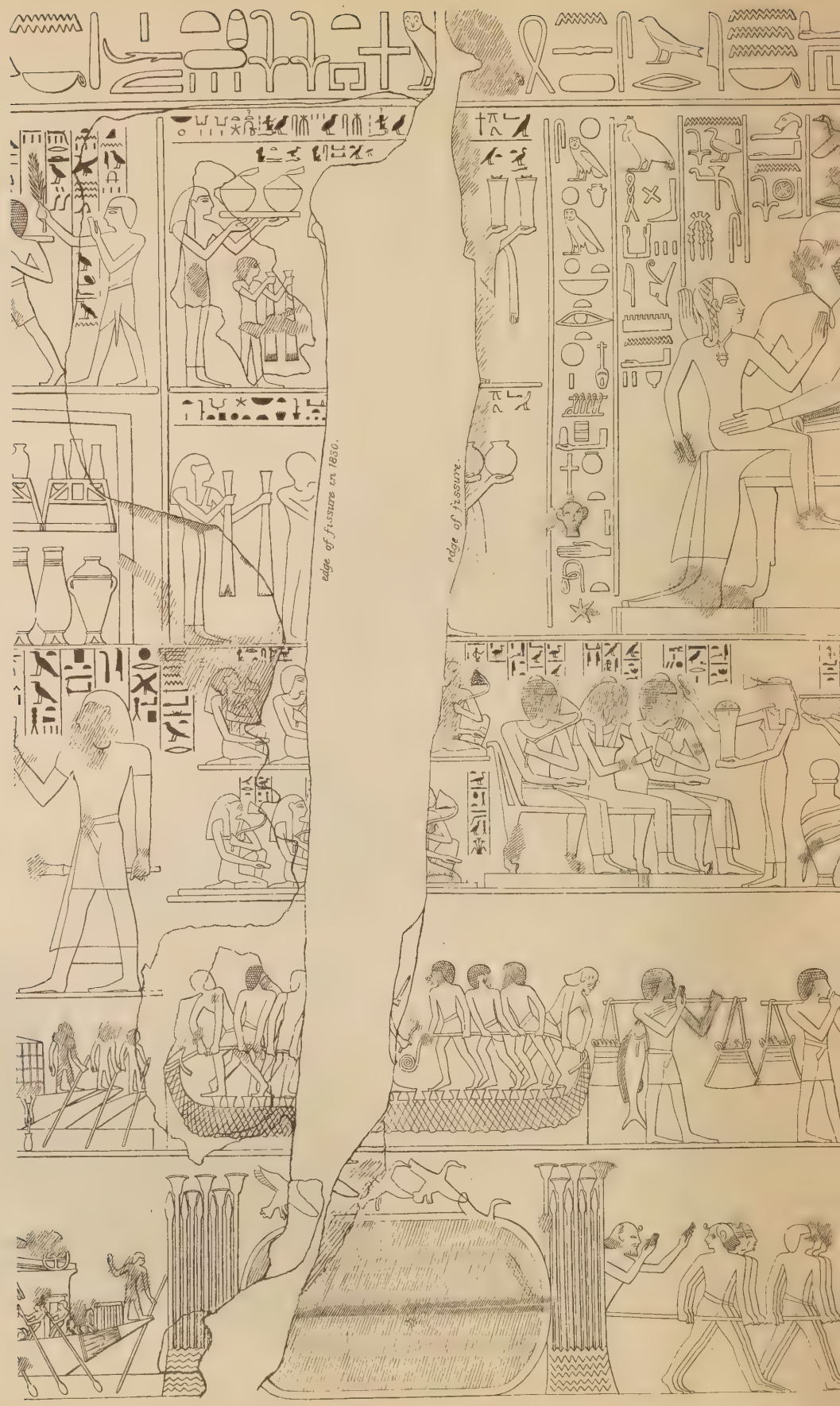


0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET

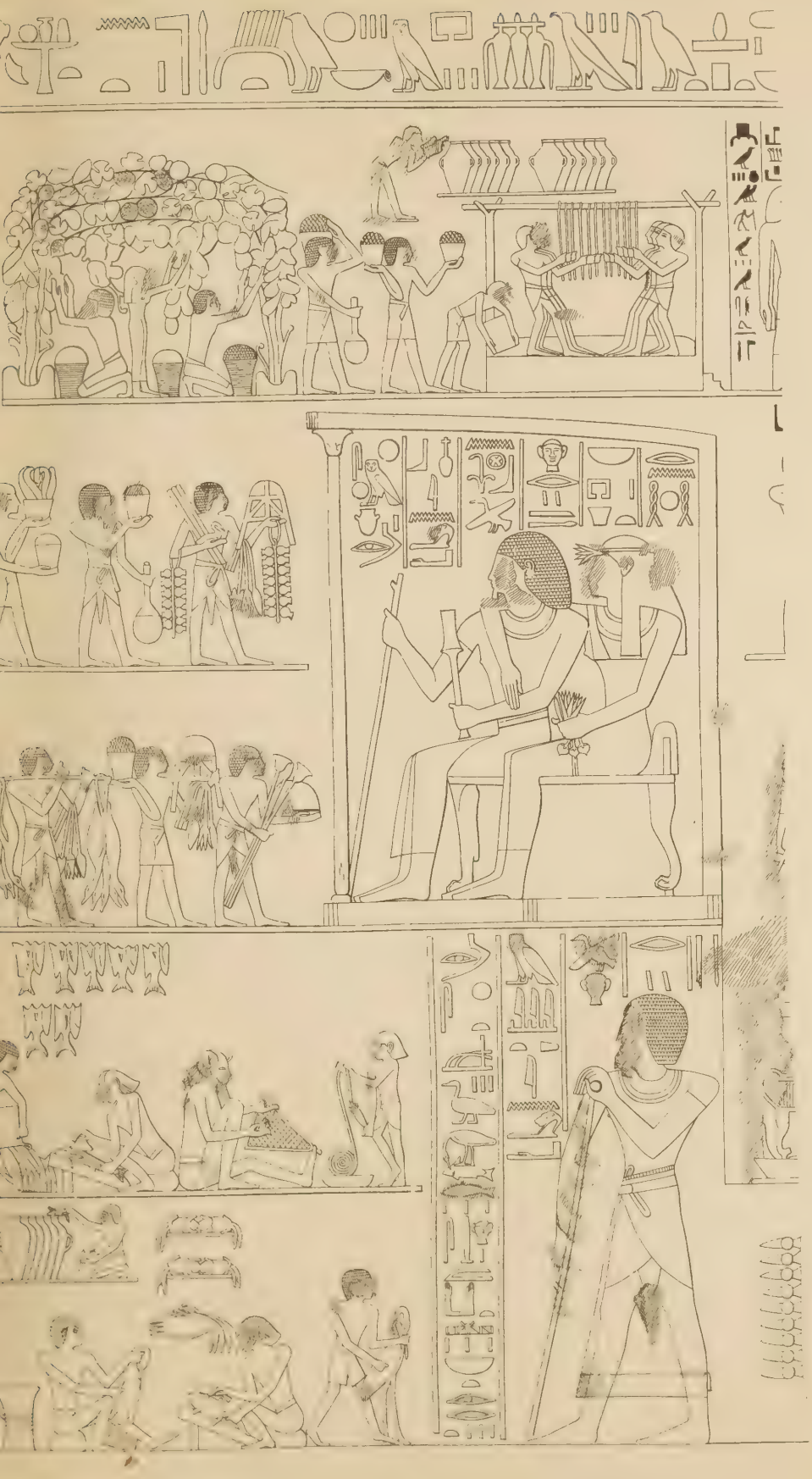
FACADE AND WALL AT SIDE OF ENTRANCE.

FRONT WALL, EAST HALF. (THE REST DESTROYED).

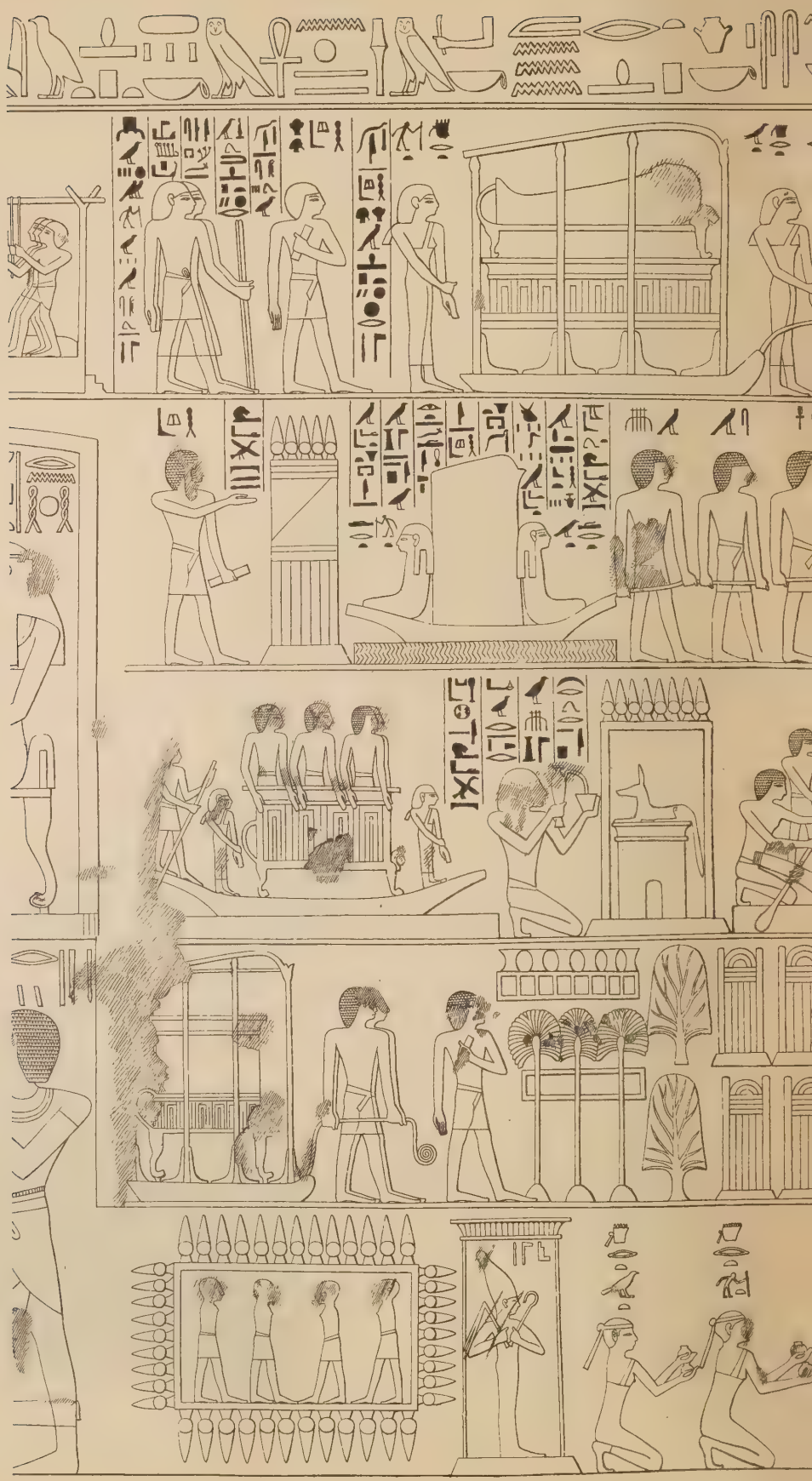
WEST WALL, SOUTH END: THE OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS OF PAHERI.



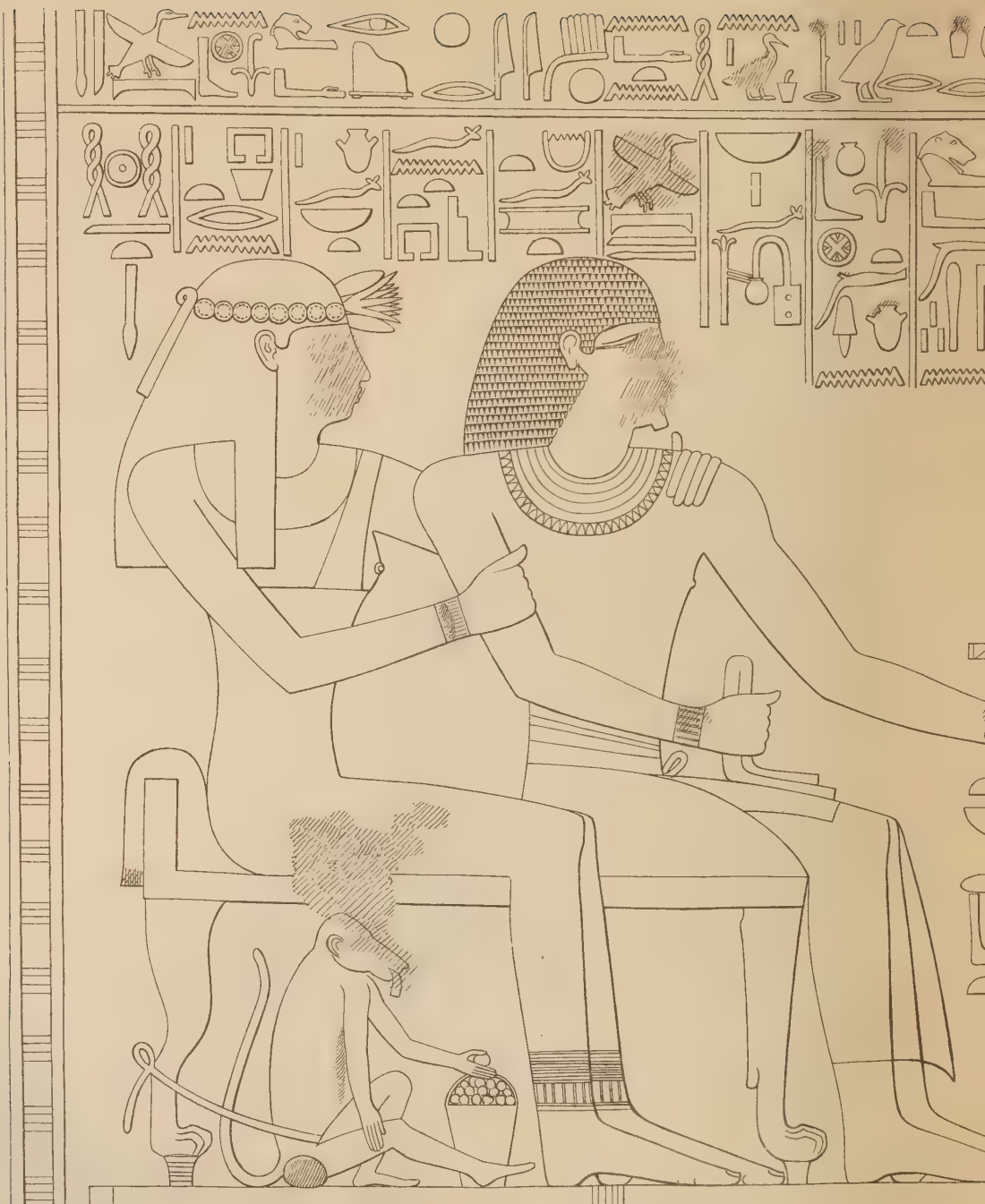
WEST WALL, CENTR



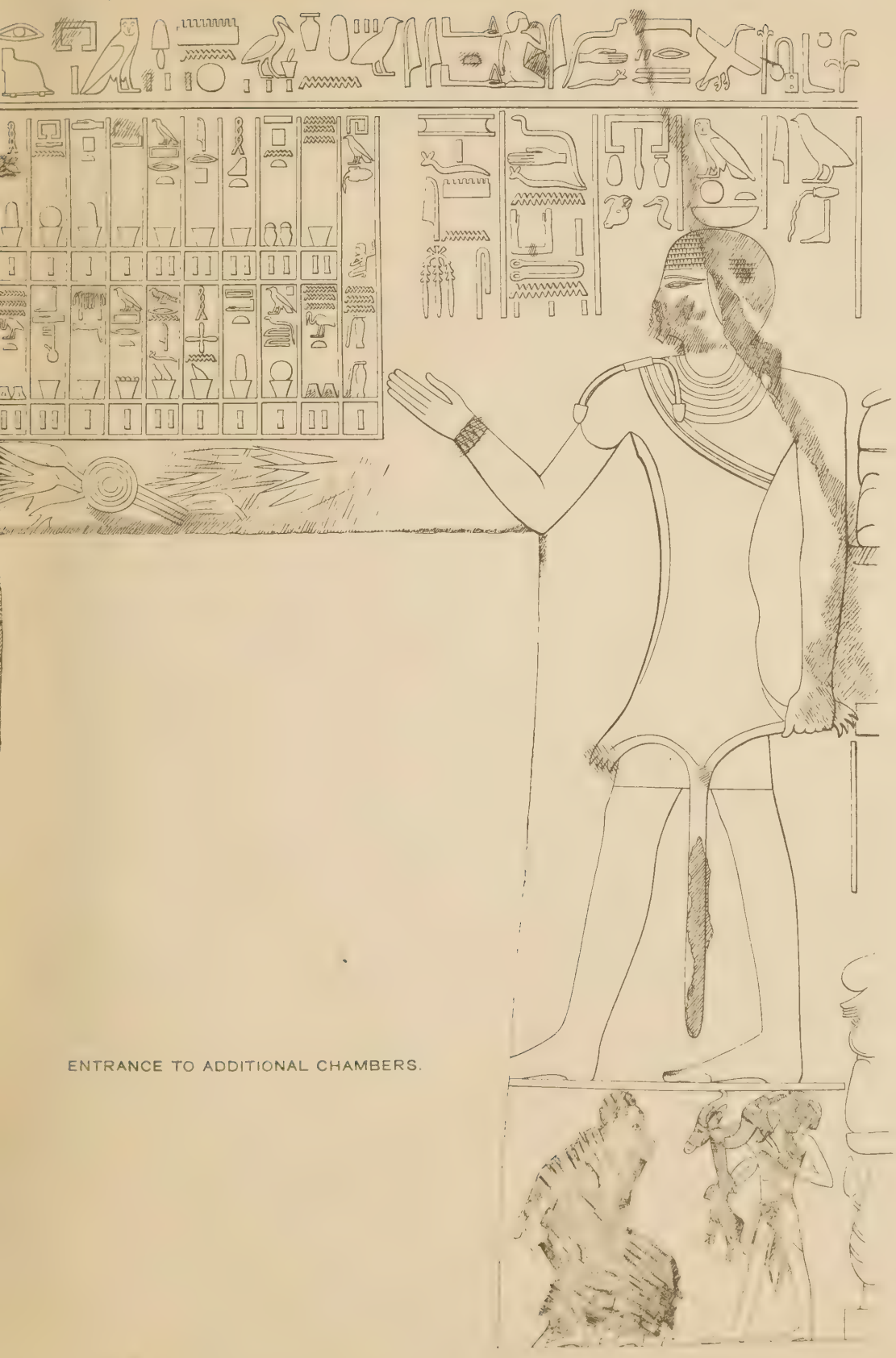
ATE LIFE OF PAHERI.



WEST WALL, NOR



EAST WALL, NORTH END:



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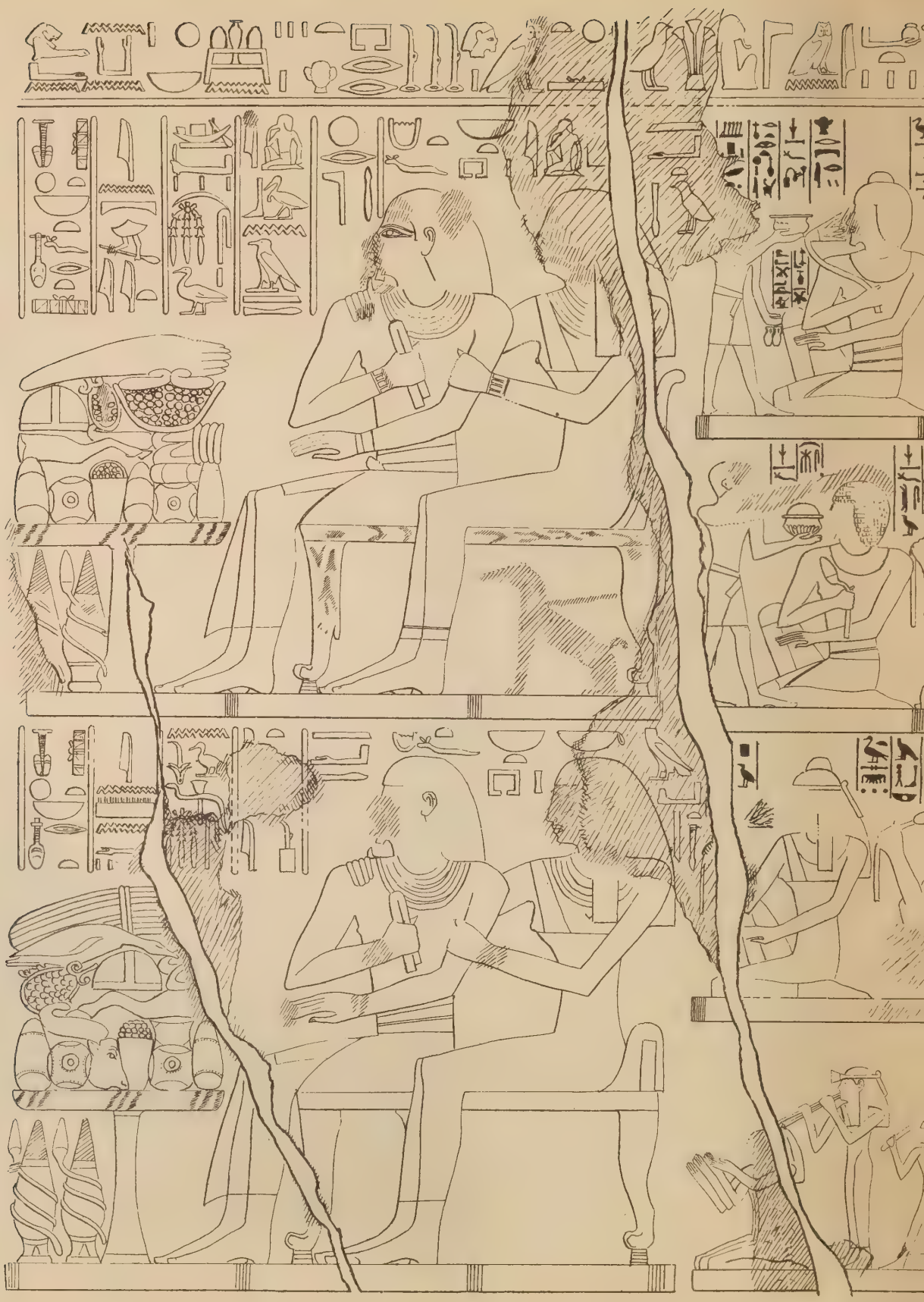

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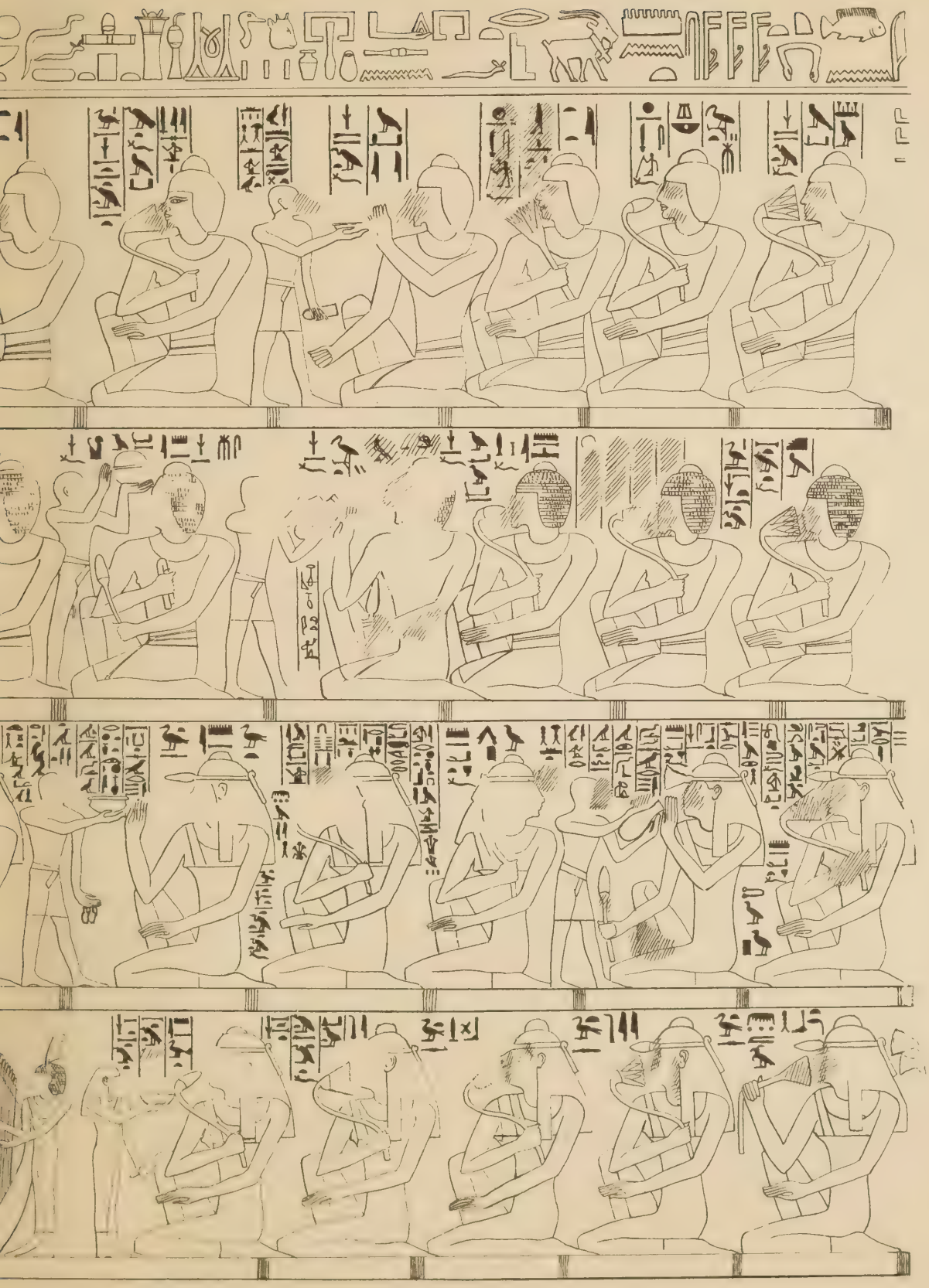

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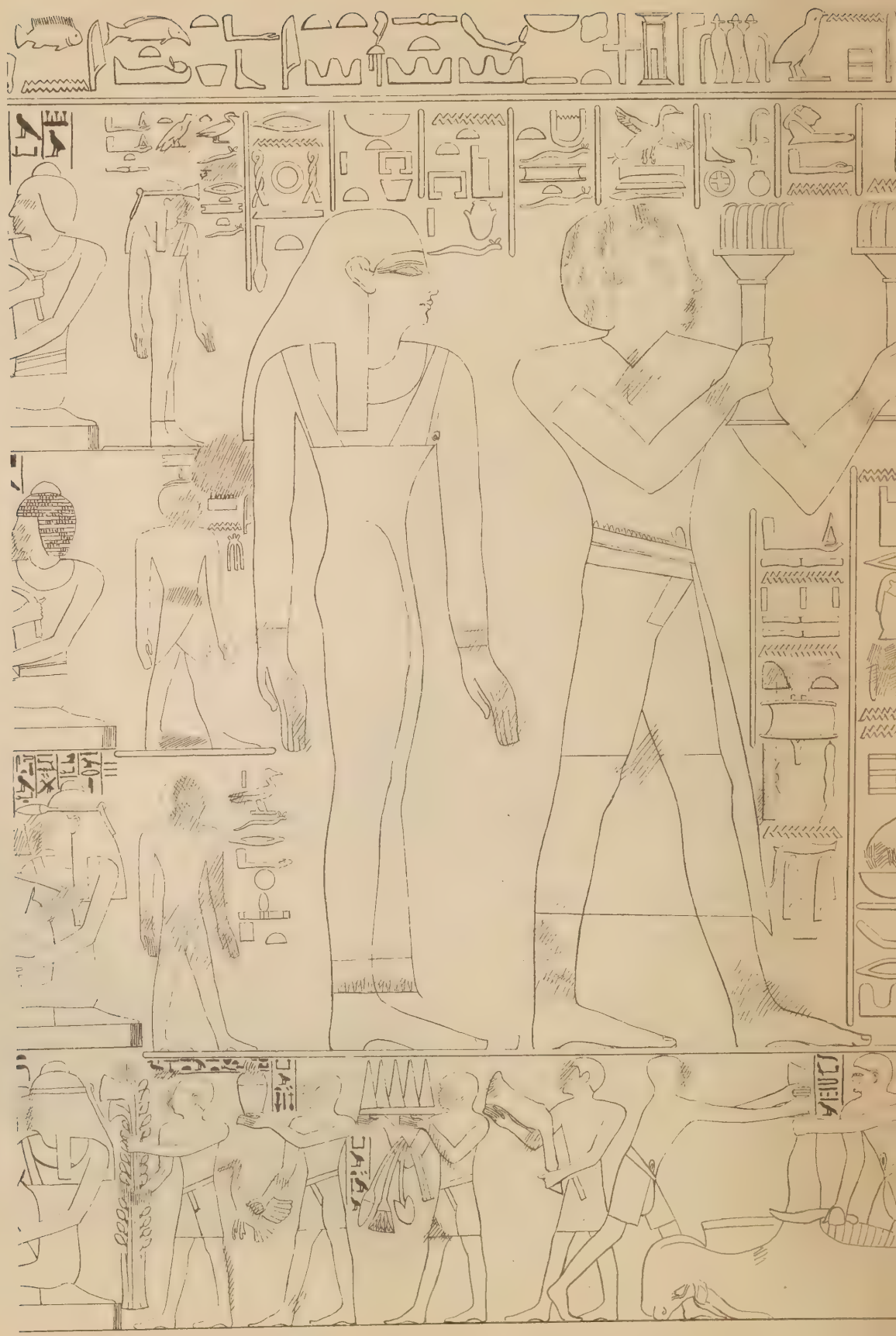

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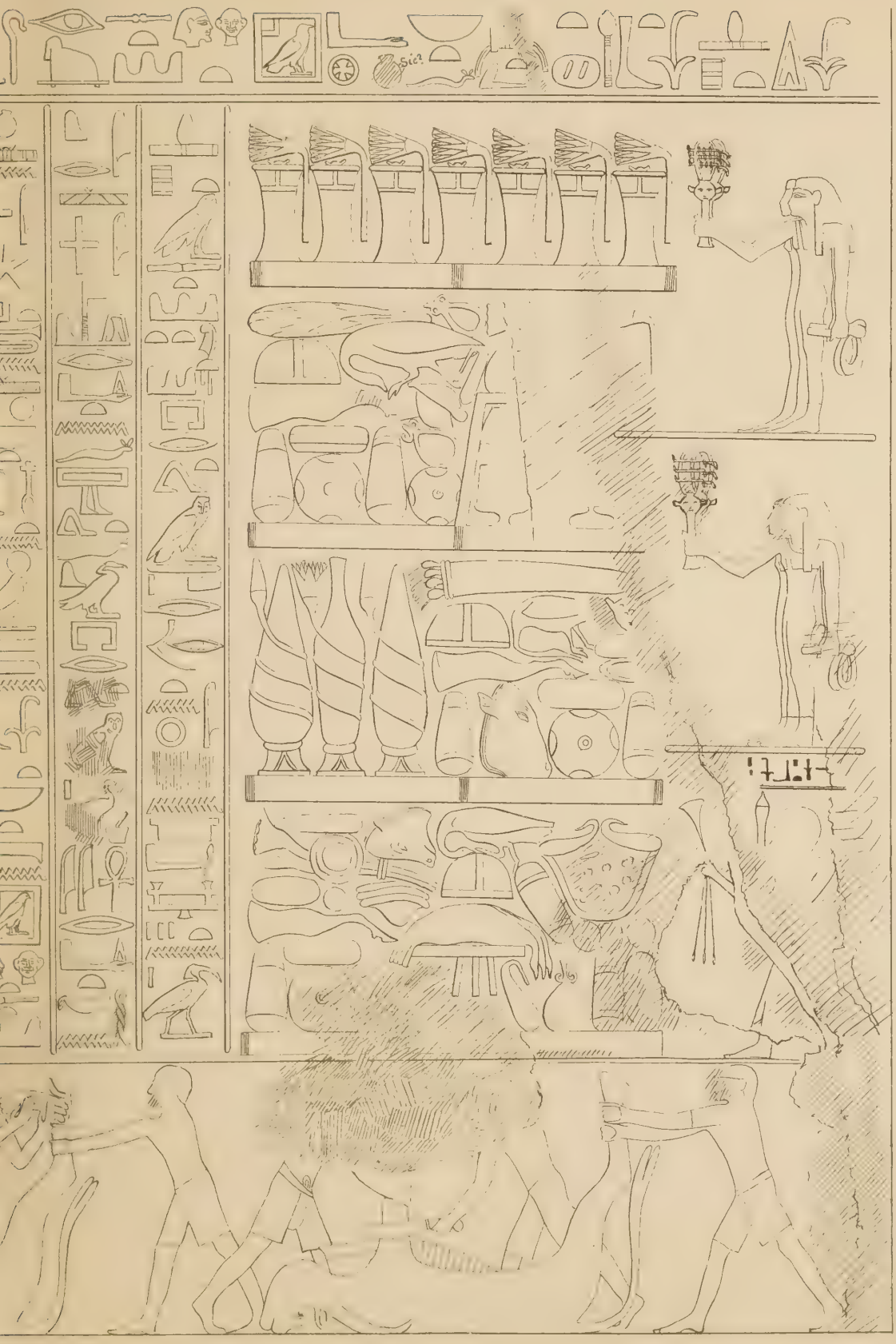

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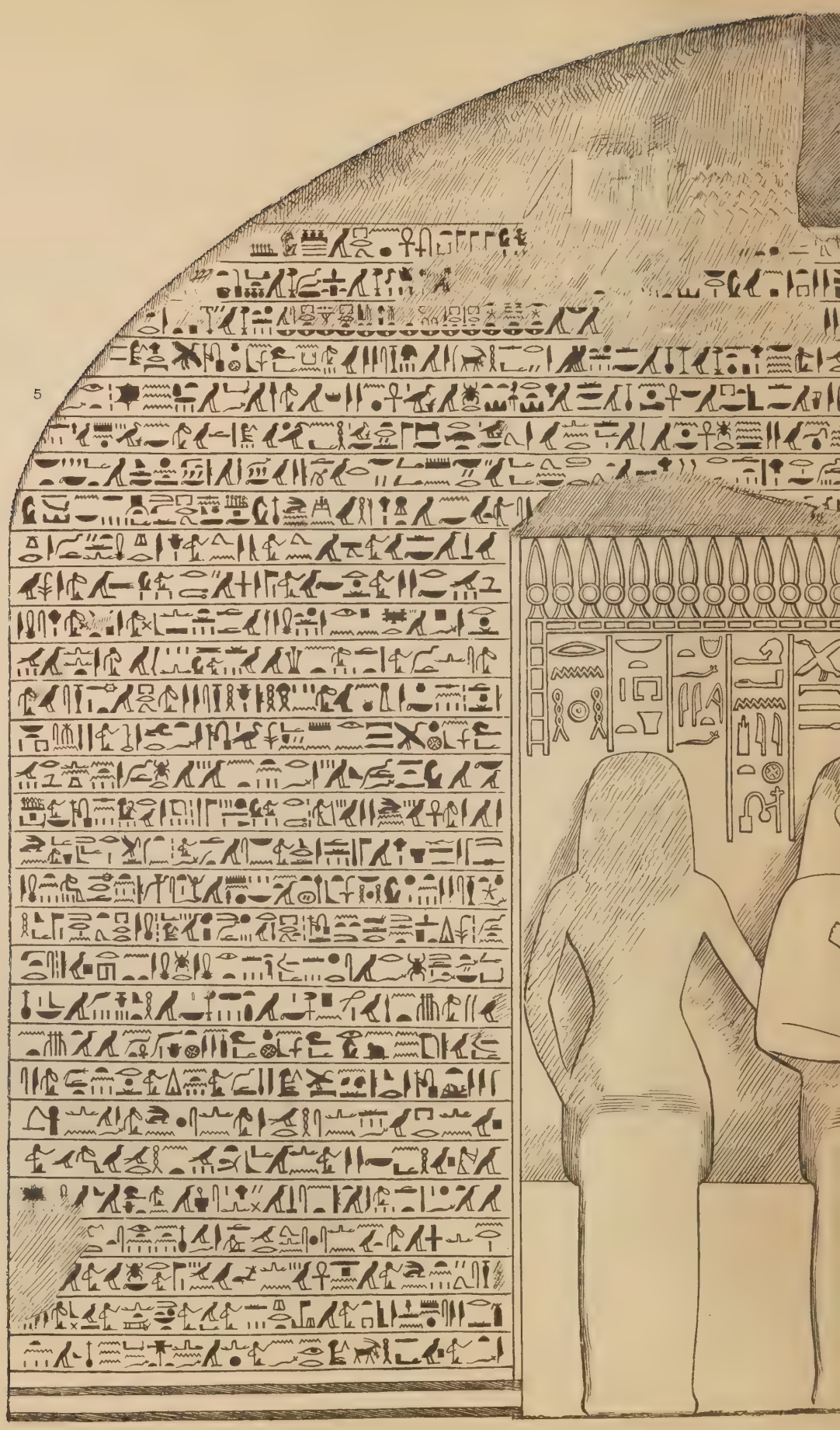

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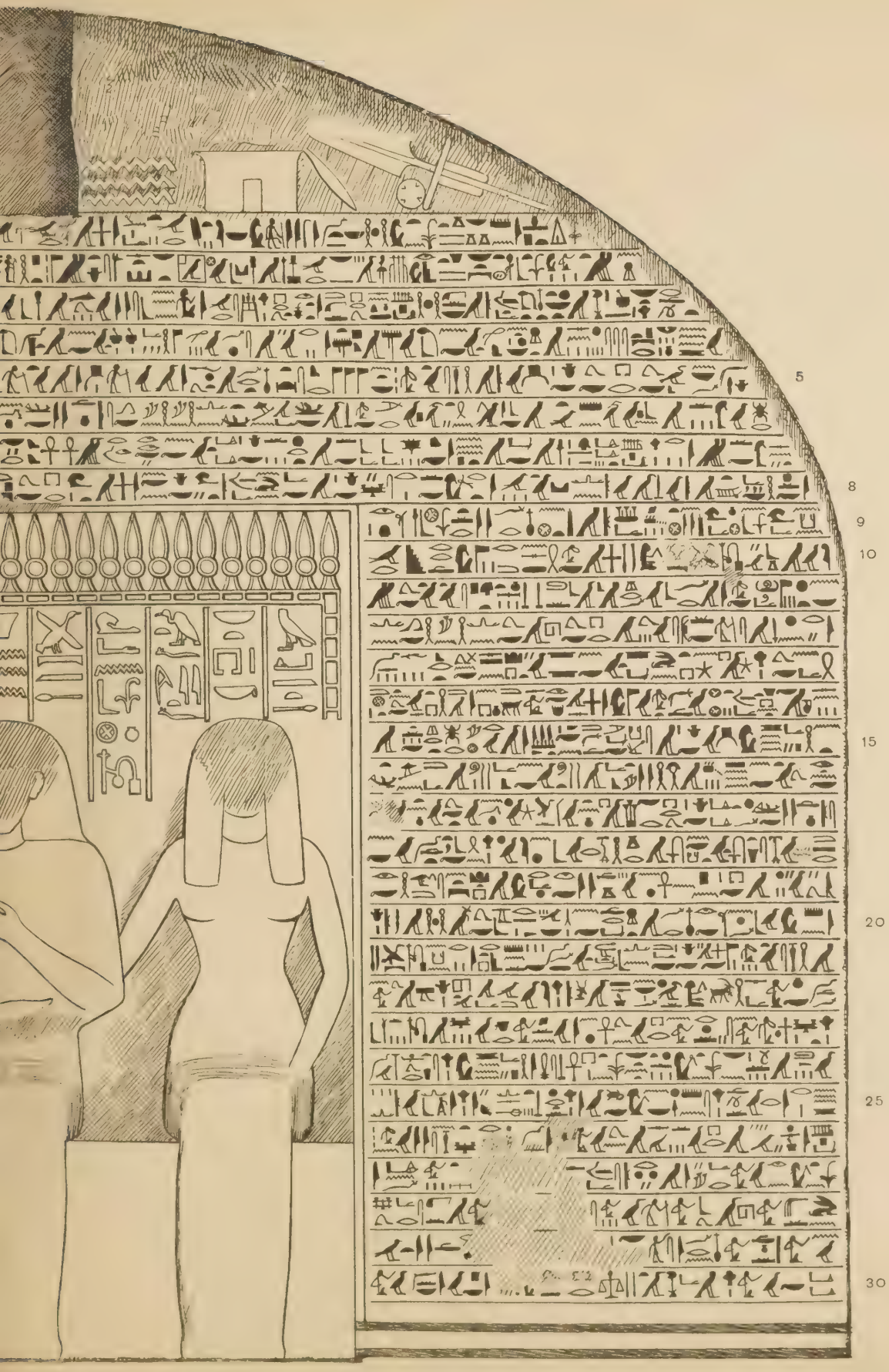

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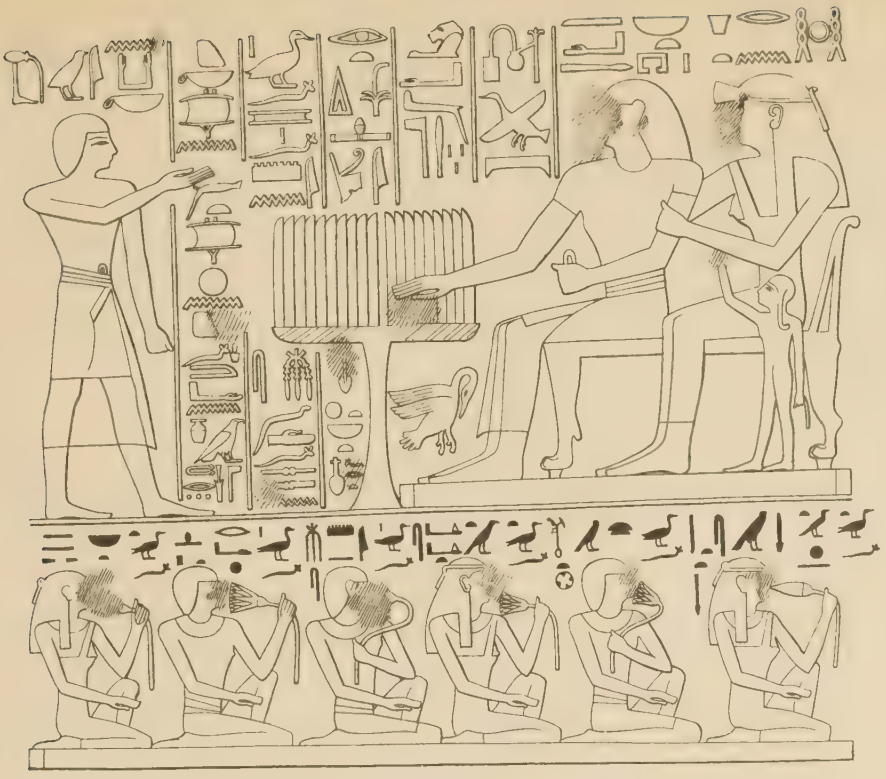

WEST SIDE.

EAST SIDE.

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